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Sudan Said Mediating Iran-Iraq Reconciliation

TA0203200193 Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 2 Mar 93 pp 1, 15

[By special AL-QUDS correspondent]

[Text] Amman—Informed Arab sources in the Jordanian capital have said that a high-ranking Iraqi-Iranian meeting took place recently between Iraqi Foreign Minister Muhammad Sa'id al-Sahhaf and his Iranian counterpart, 'Ali Akbar Velayati, in the border town of Khanaqin.

Those sources point out that the mediation conducted by the Sudanese leadership for over two months, which was shrouded in total secrecy, has melted some of the ice accumulated on Iraqi-Iranian relations following eight years of war. The secret team formed by Sudanese President 'Umar al-Bashir, comprising some of his closest aides, managed to bring the Iraqi and Iranian viewpoints closer.

The Sudanese team paid several visits to the Iranian capital to obtain consent to begin talks with Iraq. All the while, there was a hot line between the Sudanese mediation team and the Iraqi side until everyone reached one conclusion: The two Muslim neighbors must reconcile.

The talks between the Iraqi and Iranian ministers centered on the pending issues between the two sides. Agreement was reached to set up three working teams, each dealing with different issues. Those issues included:

—The problem of the Iraqi planes that Iraq hid in Iran during the Gulf War. The Iranians answered that they were ready to return the civilian planes in exchange for confiscating the military planes as reparation for damages during the Iraq-Iran war. The Iraqi side, however, insisted on the return of all the planes. The door was left open for a compromise between the two positions.

—The issue of 20,000 Iraqi POWs still being held in Iran. The two sides agreed that the POWs' release would begin upon the signing of an agreement between them.

—The issue of media attacks between the two countries was discussed. Iraq pledged to cease its aid to the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization and stop its members from reaching Iranian territory. The Iranian side pledged to purchase Iraqi oil and re-export it to buy foodstuff and medical supplies from international markets. Iran would re-export these items to Iraq if the blockade against the Iraqi people were to continue.

—The issue of opening the borders between the two countries, allowing Iranian citizens to visit the sacred sites in Iraq without entry visas, and permitting Iraqis to visit Qom without visas was also discussed. The Iraqi side viewed with understanding the Iranian side's demand to have the sacred sites in Karbala' and al-Najaf repaired and gilded by it.

—The two sides discussed the repatriation of Iraqi immigrants of Iranian origin. The Iranian side considered the raising and discussion of this issue as the basis of a dialogue and a manifestation of goodwill by the Iraqi side. The Iranian side obtained satisfactory responses on this issue.

—The Iraqi side referred to Iranian-Gulf relations, which are tense these days. Iraq expressed its dissatisfaction at Iranian conduct and Iran's interference in the Gulf states' internal affairs. The Iranian side asked Iraq not to open this file at present and to postpone it to a later date, as this is not an issue between the two sides.

Inter-Arab Affairs

Arab Monetary Fund Suspends Loans to Iraq, Somalia, Sudan

NC0403100893 Paris AFP in English 0845 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Abu Dhabi, March 4 (AFP) - The Arab Monetary Fund (AMF) has suspended loans to Iraq and two other member-states because of their failure to repay debts, sources close to the Abu Dhabi-based Fund said Thursday. They said Iraq, Sudan and Somalia owed the AMF a total of 603 million dollars and were unable to pay.

"The three members are no longer eligible for any kind of loan from the AMF but can still benefit from technical assistance and participation in training courses organised by the Fund," one source said. The arrears, which accumulated over the past eight years, account for nearly half the AMF's capital of around 1.3 billion dollars and include interest of about five percent per year.

Iraq is potentially one of the richest Arab nations but is crippled by United Nations sanctions which have banned its oil exports and frozen its overseas funds following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990.

Somalia has been hit by civil war, while Sudan is in economic crisis because of fighting in the south of the country and debts of more than 10 billion dollars.

The AMF was established in 1976 by Arab governments with the primary aim of tackling a chronic deficit in the balance of payments in most member states. It has provided more than two billion dollars in loans but the gap persists. This has prompted the Fund, one of the largest Arab League organisations, to concentrate on technical assistance and helping members to introduce reforms, seen as a essential to repair their economies.

Palestinian Affairs

Committee Member Discounts U.S. Interest in Hamas Contacts

JN0303193593 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1700 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Statement by 'Abdallah Hurani, PLO Executive Committee member, in Tunis on 3 March—recorded]

[Text] I believe that the U.S. Administration from the beginning was not serious in its contacts with the Hamas movement. In my assessment, the U.S. Administration wanted to play with the unity of the Palestinian people, drive a wedge in their ranks, and escalate differences among the people and their national forces through such contacts. On the other hand, the U.S. Administration believes that by opening a dialogue with Hamas it can create confusion in the PLO's position and pressure its political stand. Thus, it aims through this to extort a political stand from the PLO. I do not think that Hamas believes that this U.S. initiative on contacts is serious. I also do not think that such a stand will frighten the PLO or make it believe that the U.S. Administration is searching for an alternative to the PLO.

Hamas 'Surprised' by U.S. Move To End Contacts

JN0403080093 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 4-5 Mar 93 pp 1, 5

["Special to the JORDAN TIMES" by Wafa' 'Amr]

[Text] Amman—The Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas said Wednesday it was surprised by an American announcement that Washington was cutting off all contacts with the group and that the American move could have come ahead of including Hamas in Washington's list of groups sponsoring "terrorism."

The group also regreted that it was suggested by American officials as a possible suspect in last week's blast at New York's World Trade Centre and called on Washington to withdraw "such irresponsible accusations."

Hamas officials have said that the group's strength and resistance activities would be confined to the occupied territories. They strongly deny Hamas involvement in terrorist activities or any acts of violence abroad.

Hamas representatives in Amman asserted that the U.S. decision to cut off contacts with the group was aimed at appeasing Israel and contradicted the erstwhile American policy towards the group, which gained political prominence after Israel's Dec. 17 expulsion to South Lebanon of more than 400 Palestinians suspected of membership in Hamas or Islamic Jihad, another hardline Muslim fundamentalist Palestinian group.

"We are astonished by the new American position, and it is proof of the influence of the Zionist lobby on the new American administration's policies," Hamas representative in Jordan Muhammad Nazzal told the Jordan Times.

"The United States' decision and justifications are a way of apologising to Israel for meeting with us. We also see it as a way to justify labelling our activities as international terrorism," he said.

U.S. State Department spokesman Richard Boucher Tuesday announced Washington's suspension of contacts with people associated with Hamas.

Hamas' representatives in Jordan met twice with an Amman-based U.S. diplomat, Eric Gaudiosi, following the Dec. 17 Israeli expulsion of Palestinians in what the group described earlier as an effort to explain its position to Washington and refute American assertions that Hamas was a terrorist group.

"The meetings were not simply contacts. There was an ongoing dialogue initiated by the Americans," Mr. Nazzal said Wednesday.

Mr. Boucher acknowledged that contacts had taken place between American diplomats and "some people associated with Hamas." But he denied the existence of a political dialogue between them.

The State Department spokesman said U.S. embassies, particularly the mission in Amman, maintained a variety of contacts with people to discuss the development of political Islam and Islamic currents in the Islamic World.

"We don't have a political dialogue with Hamas, and given the current situation, we have instructed our embassies not to continue those contacts," Mr. Boucher told reproters Tuesday.

In addition to meeting the American diplomat, Hamas representatives also launched contacts with the Amman-based ambassadors of Britain, Germany, and Italy. According to Hamas officials, discussions during these meetings focused on Hamas' political views, its opposition to peace negotiations with Israel, and the Palestinian demand for the immediate implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 799 calling for the immediate return of the Palestinians expelled in December.

"We were told by Eric Gaudiosi that Israel might be returning a small number of Palestinians expelled since 1967, and that it would make some improvements in human rights conditions in the occupied territories," Mr. Nazzal said. He also said that the American diplomat informed the Hamas delegation that the U.S. was trying to achieve the return of the latest group of expellees, who are stranded in South Lebanon between Israeli and Lebanese army lines.

The American-Hamas contacts were a source of concern for the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), particularly that Washington has repeatedly rebuffed PLO request for a resumption of the U.S.-PLO dialogue suspended in 1990.

Despite its publicly stated moderate views and close involvement in the Mideast peace process through Palestinian negotiators from the Israeli-occupied territories, the mainstream PLO has not succeeded in convincing the U.S. of reopening the dialogue.

The meetings between Hamas and American diplomats were viewed with suspicion by the PLO, which described the contacts as an infringement on the organisation's legitimacy as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, something that Hamas itself does not acknowledge.

Hamas did consider its meetings with American and other Western diplomats as "an indirect international recognition of its strength and political weight in the Palestinian political arena," according to Mr. Nazzal.

He emphasised that Hamas would continue to prove its strength as "an influential Palestinian force with significant political weight."

Meanwhile, a formal statement issued by Hamas described American officials' suggestion that the group was a suspect in the World Trade Centre bombing. [sentence as published]

The statement called on Washington to withdraw such "provocative statement and to apologise to our people."

It also urged the U.S. to be "accurate and objective before making such irresponsible statements."

According to Hamas spokesman in Jordan Ibrahim Ghawshah, the comments in reference came from James Fox, head of the New York office of the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI).

"We reject the baseless accusation, which aims at hurting our people and movement and underming our image," Mr. Ghawshah said.

Mr. Nazzal said of the reported American comments: "We have not threatened American interests anywhere in the world. Our policy is well known to the U.S.: It is a legitimate struggle against the Zionist enemy."

In Tunis, PLO official expressed satisfaction over the U.S. decision to end contacts with Hamas.

Through the contacts with Hamas, the United States was aiming at dividing the Palestinian ranks and putting pressure on the PLO to obtain more concessions," [quote marks as published] said 'Abdallah Hurani, a member of the PLO's Executive Committee.

Now that the United States has ended these contacts, "it is clear that Hamas should not have been mistaken that the U.S. was going to recognise it and consider it as an alternative (to the PLO)," he said.

The head of the PLO's Information Department, Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh, said it would have no comment on the U.S. decision.

Israel welcomed the U.S. move.

"We appreciate the American wisdom, or the administration's wisdom in cutting contacts with those who are trying to kill the peace in order to enable this process to go on," Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's spokesman Oded Ben Ami told Reuters.

Asked if Israel had urged Washington to cut contacts with Hamas, Ben Ami said: "We are not discussing our diplomatic contacts."

Hamas Denies Rejecting U.S. Plan

JN0303074493 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 3 Mar 93 pp 1, 5

[By JORDAN TIMES staff reporter Maryam M. Shahin]

[Text] Amman—The Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas Tuesday [2 March] denied rejecting a six-point U.S. proposal to resolve the expellee crisis and said if the majority of the Palestinian people wanted to go ahead with the peace process Hamas would respect their wishes and stop its attempts to break off Palestinian peace talks with Israel.

"We neither accept nor reject the six-point plan of (U.S. Secretary of State Warren) Christopher," Hamas representative in Jordan Muhammad Nazzal told the Jordan Times. "We are saying that the peace negotiations should not be linked with the immediate implementation of U.N. Resolution 799."

Mr. Nazzal said three of the six points included in the deal proposed by Mr. Christopher were "irrelevant" to the immediate implementation of Resolution 799.

"Why should we approve of irrelevant statements? There is no need. Israel should announce that it will no longer carry out expulsions or transfer policies. That is the single most important point along with the implementation of Resolution 799," Mr. Nazzal said. Mr. Nazzal confirmed that his movement would continue to oppose the peace process regardless of whether Resolution 799 was implemented or not. He said that the only condition under which Hamas would stop actively opposing the peace process would be in the "framework of a democratic Palestinian political arena in which the majority (of the Palestinians) voted in favour of the process."

Mr. Nazzal said, however, that Hamas was not contemplating continuing discussions with the PLO leadership over joining the Palestine National Council (PNC) any time in the near future.

"For the moment the issue of our joining the PNC has been shelved until further notice," said Mr. Nazzal, who was one of Hamas representatives to engage in a PLO-Hamas dialogue in Tunis and Khartoum in December.

Asked what conditions Hamas now puts on its joining the PNC, he said that "democratisation of the PNC and the PLO Executive Committee is of primary concern to us." Mr. Nazzal said if the PLO was to democratise "we would join today."

Any decisions made by a "free PNC would be binding to us, including participation in the peace process," he said.

He said Hamas would participate in any elections in the occupied territories provided that "they were not linked to the peace process." Hamas will not categorically rule out its participation if the elections were linked to the peace process but such "decisions have not been made yet," he added.

PLO officials close to Chairman Yasir 'Arafat said Tuesday that the PLO leadership was "in no hurry to include Hamas in the PNC at this stage."

"Right now that would be a severe headache. Hamas would prolong discussions to no end and the current decision-making system would be thrown into total disarray," said a PLO official speaking on condition of anonymity from Tunis.

PLO officials acknowledge that the PLO would like to have Hamas join its fold before a final settlement is reached with the Isrelis. "This is necessary so that it will be binding on all parties," said one Palestinian analyst in Amman.

Hamas, however, may be trying to avoid precisely that. "A few months back Hamas was making serious efforts to enter the PNC. Now the issue is on the back burner," said a Palestinan analyst close to Hamas. "Now the political strategy of Hamas is to stay outside of the peace process."

"If it fails, then they will say that their predictions had been correct and if there is peace they will not be held responsible for the concessions that the PLO made to Israel," said the analyst.

"In other words the Hamas strategy at this stage is to have the best of both worlds," he said.

Mr. Nazzal had met on two separate occasions with an Amman-based U.S. diplomat, Eric Gaudiosi, after the expellee crisis began.

"We met twice with Mr. Gaudiosi, once in December and once in January. At that time he spoke to us of linking a commitment on human rights issues and the U.S. proposal to Israel which would allow for the return of a sizeable number of Palestinians expelled since 1967," Mr. Nazzal said.

"We wanted to express our opposition to the concept of gradual return of the expellees and we wanted to lobby against the use of term terrorist when referring to our organisation," he said.

The diplomatic missions of the U.S., Canada, Russia, China and Japan told Hamas that their ambassadors would not be able to meet with them for different reasons, Mr. Nazzal said. The French embassy did not respond to a Hamas' request to meet with the ambassador.

Hamas Denies Involvement in New York Bombing

NC0303150193 Paris AFP in English 1444 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Amman, March 3 (AFP) - The Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas on Wednesday [3 March] denied any responsibility in New York's World Trade Center bombing, saying it limited its attacks to targets inside the Israeli-occupied territories.

Hamas spokesman Muhammad Nazzal told AFP his group "does not carry out military operations outside the occupied territories."

"Our strategy is to resist (Israeli) occupation inside the occupied Arab territories," he said.

The head of the FBI's New York office, James Fox, told a press conference on Tuesday that Hamas was a "group with a known propensity for violence."

"That's a group we're looking at, one of several groups," he said in response to reporters' questions on the investigation into Friday's bombing which killed five people and injured more than 1,000.

Nazzal said such remarks were "tendentious rumours aimed at deforming the objectives of our movement and branding it as terrorist."

New York authorities have offered a 200,000-dollar reward for clues to the bombing.

New York Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly said investigators were trying to determine if there was a link between the attack and a January 22 telephone threat to the U.S. embassy in Algeria warning of a bombing in New York if some 400 Palestinians deported by Israel in December were not allowed to return.

Most of the deportees are said to be supporters or members of Hamas.

Israel has said 101 could return immediately and the rest by the end of the year but the deportees rejected the offer and demanded Israeli compliance with U.N. Security Council resolution 799, which demands their immediate return.

'Abd-al-Shafi Affirms Stance on Peace Talks

TA0303182993 Jerusalem Israel Television Network in Arabic 1730 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, head of the Palestinian side to the peace talks, disclosed today that Mr. Elyaqim Rubinstein, head of the Israeli delegation, phoned him recently and stressed the importance of resuming the peace talks. Our correspondent Yoni Ben-Menahem reports that Dr. 'Abd-al-Shafi explained to Mr. Rubinstein that the resumption of negotiations hinges on compliance with the conditions set by the Palestinian side regarding the deportees' issue and respect for the negotiating terms of reference, based on Security Council Resolution 242.

In a related development, Dr. 'Abd-al-Shafi said that the proposal calling for a unilateral Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip is impractical, because a comprehensive solution to the conflict must be reached.

'Abd-al-Shafi on Renewing Peace Talks

TA0303141393 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 3 Mar 93 p B2

[Interview with Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, chairman of the Palestinian delegation to the bilateral peace talks, by Yosef Elgazi, on 1 March in the Palestinian Red Crescent office in Gaza]

[Text] [Elgazi] Where does the Palestinian optimism expressed in the media in the wake of U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's visit come from?

['Abd-al-Shafi] Personally, I am neither optimistic nor pessimistic. We told the U.S. emissary that there is no need for anybody to pressure us or convince us to renew the peace process. We, the Palestinians, are more interested than anybody else in achieving peace, but we want to be partners in a genuine peace process, with clear commitments by Israel and the United States.

The United States, as one of the cosponsors of the peace process, must make sure that the sides respect the conditions of the agreement which led to the Madrid talks, which means implementing Resolution 242. We are not asking the United States to exert pressure on Israel. When we asked Christopher what the United States means when it says it will be a full partner to the talks, we did not receive a clear-cut answer. He did make it clear though that the United States has no intention of replacing the sides to the negotiations. We stressed that we also do not want that to happen. It is possible that unlike in the past, they will now act to make sure there is real progress in the talks.

[Elgazi] From your point of view, can there be compromise solutions on the deportee issue?

['Abd-al-Shafi] Yes, if Israel makes a commitment on Resolution 242, we will be flexible on the deportees. We insist that Israel make a commitment not to deport anybody in the future. Under such conditions, we will be flexible on an agenda for the talks, but we want to know what Israel means when it says that it accepts Resolution 242.

[Elgazi] The Israeli Government has made it clear that at this stage the talks must concentrate only on the issue of an autonomy agreement and not on the final settlement.

['Abd-al-Shafi] There is no dispute over the fact that the issue now in the talks is an autonomy agreement, but Israel is currently taking steps in the territories to decide the character of the final settlement, and we cannot contribute anything to that. Since Israel controls the occupied territories it decides through its land policy how the final settlement will look.

[Elgazi] But Israel froze settlement.

['Abd-al-Shafi] That is not true, to my regret, especially in Jerusalem.

During the eight rounds of talks so far, no progress has been made on the autonomy issue. The sides have conflicting positions. We said that the transitional Palestinian government must be given realistic powers and not the nominal powers of an advisory council. The government must, for instance, have authority on the land issue, all the land, including the settlement lands.

We can agree to joint Israeli-Palestinian governing powers over the Jewish settlement population. We can discuss how to resolve the water issue, but first we must resolve the problem of who has authority over the land.

The Israeli Government claimed at the start of the talks that the land issue is not up for discussion and that the transitional government will not have any authority over territory. In unofficial talks, Israelis have said that the transitional government will be given authority only over Palestinian populated areas; in other words, the areas within the jurisdiction of the local councils and towns. Authority over Jewish settlement lands and all the lands Israel has taken control of will remain with Israel; as to the rest, there could be joint authority.

[Elgazi] Under what conditions will you agree to renew the talks?

['Abd-al-Shafi] If: A. Israel declares its commitment not to deport any more people. B. The date of the deportees' return will be brought significantly forward. C. Israel will make clear its position on settlements and lands according to Resolution 242. The U.S.-Russian declaration that they would send invitations to the renewed talks in April surprised me. It was not given to us when Christopher was in the region.

[Elgazi] What do you know about the visit to Israel by Usamah al-Baz yesterday and his talks here?

['Abd-al-Shafi] From what we know and heard in the media, he expressed optimism about the resumption of the talks and the Israeli and Egyptian positions drew closer.

[Elgazi] It was reported that the Egyptian emissary's visit was coordinated with the PLO.

['Abd-al-Shafi] So be it.

[Elgazi] What do you think about the conditions Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] presented for it to join the PLO, such as the demand to cease talks with Israel and to rescind the decision to recognize Israel through acceptance of Resolution 242?

['Abd-al-Shafi] Those conditions will not be agreed to. We operate within the decisions of the Palestine National Council of 1988, and we are committed to the peace initiative. That position remains unchanged.

[Elgazi] Hamas spokesman Ibrahim Ghawshah, in an announcement published in the Jordanian press, welcomed your brave and honorable position compared to Yasir 'Arafat's wishy-washy and compromising stand.

['Abd-al-Shafi] My position remains clear that Resolution 799 on the deportees's issue must be implemented and that we do not retreat from our commitments on the peace process.

[Elgazi] What do you think about the Hamas decision to hold a referendum among Palestinians in the territories and outside them on what they called "fateful issues?"

['Abd-al-Shafi] Let it be.

[Elgazi] Official circles in Israel raise from time to time the claim that it is the PLO-Tunis and not the Palestinian delegation that has the authority to make decisions, and that is why there is no progress in the talks.

['Abd-al-Shafi] The obstacle to progress in the talks is Israel itself. If Israel acts according to the conditions set for the peace process, then PLO-Tunis will not be able to use us as a tool in the political game. We are aware of everything that is happening. The delegation has real authorization and we are not officials who are told to "do this" or "follow that road." If things change we will ask to be freed of this responsibility. It is not true that our hands are tied. It is obvious that we are linked to our political leadership, but that does not mean that we are puppets run by somebody else. We are full partners. Had we not been convinced that the line the PLO is taking is correct we would not be participating in the talks.

[Elgazi] There are claims that in the past you were moderate and that you now represent a hard-line position.

['Abd-al-Shafi] That is untrue.

[Elgazi] It is said that you are afraid for your political future and even your life.

['Abd-al-Shafi] That is also untrue. We joined the peace process despite very sharp opposition from Hamas and the other organizations. Once we voiced concern that force and violence would be used against us. That did not happen. I never used a bodyguard for protection. Since the Madrid conference, I have moved about freely in Gaza and everywhere else by car and foot without protection. When asked whether I am afraid, I have replied that I am not afraid of anything because I have not carried out any crime against my people. If somebody claims that my position is due to fear, then that is a joke.

[Elgazi] Some say that you have threatened to resign as delegation head on more than one occasion.

['Abd-al-Shafi] This is untrue and baseless. Neither my status in the delegation nor my personal situation are on the agenda. It may be that the at my age (74) and physical condition my burden is heavy, but I assume it with satisfaction and work as an individual in a unified team.

[Elgazi] Yes, but there is a difference between you and the other delegates: They are backed by organizations and parties, while you are not. They claim that there is competition between you and Faysal al-Husayni.

['Abd-al-Shafi] Competition? For what? Over who will be the first to shake Christopher's hand, perhaps? I have no claim for leadership, nor do I have any future political aspirations. I expect to continue contributing to the attainment of peace, which will be the end of my role. This is more than enough for me.

[Elgazi] Recently, there has been a rise in violent activity in the territories and in the number of fatalities.

['Abd-al-Shafi] The things that presently take place stimulate emotions and instincts. The fact that Israel has stepped up its use of force—including the deportations, the rise in the number of people shot by soldiers, and the destruction of houses with rockets—has led to a rise in violence and counter-violence.

[Elgazi] The number of Palestinians murdered by other Palestinians was particularly high last weekend.

['Abd-al-Shafi] I condemn and regret any such activity.

[Elgazi] You, Yasir 'Arafat, and others all condemn and regret this, and still the killings continue.

['Abd-al-Shafi] True. The phenomenon continues and it will apparently continue for as long as the occupation lasts because our hands are tied by it. We cannot practically deal with this issue while under Israeli occupation. We will deal with it when the occupation ends.

[Elgazi] Driving here I heard on the radio that a Gazan stabbed to death two Israelis and injured nine others in Tel Aviv.

['Abd-al-Shafi] This only proves that we must try as hard as we can to attain peace, which is the only way to put an end to violence.

[Elgazi] You speak like some Israelis, for example, Knesset Member Ori Or, chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee and a retired general.

['Abd-al-Shafi] True; just like Professor Yesha'yahu Leibovich, I say that violence will go on for as long as occupation continues.

[Elgazi] And what if Syria signs a peace agreement with Israel before one is made with the Palestinians?

['Abd-al-Shafi] No, that is impossible.

[Elgazi] Israel has already expressed its agreement to make concessions on the Golan Heights, without mentioning their extent.

['Abd-al-Shafi] What concessions? Syria will agree to nothing less than Egypt had. Furthermore, the Arabs, mainly Syria, will not agree that Israel make territorial gains. I feel that Syria will demand more than Egypt had; it will tie its agreement with Israel to solving the Palestinian problem.

[Elgazi] What will happen if, at a certain moment, Israel were to decide to unilaterally establish self-government, autonomy, in the territories?

['Abd-al-Shafi] This in itself will not bring peace. The intifadah will go on.

[Elgazi] What would you do if Israel were to announce tomorrow that it is withdrawing from the Gaza Strip, leaving the residents to mind their own affairs?

['Abd-al-Shafi] If Israel leaves Gaza with no early notice, it would be committing a criminal act. If, however, we are notified in advance, we would invite the United Nations and Egypt to assume responsibility for law, order, and security for a reasonable transitional period. At the same time, we will continue to demand that the West Bank and Jerusalem be freed and that a Palestinian state be established.

[Elgazi] How do you sum up the first seven months of Yitzhaq Rabin's government?

['Abd-al-Shafi] Very bad. Rabin has remained the same Rabin we knew as defense minister at the time, which did not surprise me. I was disappointed by the conduct of the Meretz ministers. I have already said that while in the United States. It is hard to point to any significant difference between Rabin's government and the one before it. The Shamir government had a clearer policy. Rabin's government declared that the issue of settlements has, at this stage, been removed from the order of its priorities, but there is no guarantee that it will not reverse the situation.

[Elgazi] What are your expectations?

['Abd-al-Shafi] Unfortunately, Israel has not entered the peace process out of its own good intentions; it was forced to do so. So far, it has not shown any willingness to implement the terms of agreement that led to the beginning of the political process. It still considers its military might as the foundation of its policy. This is very dangerous, and does not serve the interests of Israel or the security of the region. Such a view could bring disasters upon us all. Israel demands security. We are saying land for peace, knowing that the peace process calls for compromises. When we agreed to enter the peace process we made a big concession—we have forsaken our old demand for the establishment of a single, democratic, and secular, Palestinian state. When I am asked: What will you give Israel in return for the termination of the occupation? I say: Security for Israel; we have no land to give. Peace will provide both the Israelis and the Arabs with great advantages. Israel's aspiration for a special and privileged status in the region causes damage. Israel should think of itself as equal to the other countries of the region.

We expect Israel to regain its conscience and intelligence. Israel's leaders should have long-term considerations in mind. It is in the long-term Jewish interest in this region to establish stable peace and goodneighborly relations with the Arabs—which could only be attained on the basis of justice for all parties. Today, Israel is building a large Jewish ghetto at the heart of the Arab world.

[Elgazi] Are peace and goodneighborly relations possible in the framework of the existence of the State of Israel as a sovereign state with a Jewish majority in the Arab region?

['Abd-al-Shafi] Yes, definitely. Today, it depends on its willingness to help implement Palestinian national rights. The Arab world supports the Palestinian recognition of the State of Israel and our willingness to coexist with it.

The decision to impose a closure [on the Gaza Strip in the wake of the 1 March murders in Tel Aviv] has no objective justification. It will only add to the economic distress and difficulties of the Gaza Strip residents. The closure decision corresponds with the policy of collective punishment—which is being constantly applied, and against which we constantly protest. The solution for incidents such as yesterday's attack, with all the pain it causes us and which we regret, will not be found through imposing closures or other means of collective punishment. Such steps will only exacerbate the existing problems. The right way to deal with such violent problems is to find a solution which is based on justice and is fair for all.

Christopher's 'Active Partner' Declaration Questioned

JN0403073493 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 4-5 Mar 93 pp 1, 5

["Special to the JORDAN TIMES" by Sana' 'Atiyah]

[Text] Amman—the American declaration made by Secretary of State Warren Christopher during his recent tour to the region that the U.S. would be an active partner in the Middle East peace negotiations took the Palestinians by surprise.

The Arab parties to the negotiations and the Palestinians had demanded American intervention on several occasions during the past 6 months of talks, hoping that the U.S. could influence Israel to budge on substantive issues, and thus achieve progress in the otherwise stalled negotiations, particularly on the Palestinian track. But former President George Bush's administration insisted on non- interference in the talks, but ensured that the talks continued.

Mr. Christopher's declaration the U.S. would be taking an active part in the talks came as a surprise to the Palestinians, especially at a time when the talks were in suspension over Israel's Dec. 17 expulsion to southern Lebanon of more than 400 Palestinians.

The failure of the Security Council to ensure Israel's compliance with Resolution 799—calling on Israel to immediately repatriate all the expellees—following a U.S.-brokered Israeli offer to take back only 101 of the evictees and the rest before the end of the year had placed fears within the Palestinian leadership on whether this American participation in the talks would indeed be positive. The U.S. had insisted that Israel's offer was "in line with 799," leading the Security Council to welcome the offer as a "step in the right direction."

Already pressured by the U.S., the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and the peace delegates now fear this pressure could increase if the U.S.'s active participation meant dealing with the basis of the talks—resolutions 242 and 338—in the same way Washington dealt with 799.

"The implications of the U.S.'s handling of Resolution 799 has placed a dark shadow on 242 and 338," said Taysir 'Aruri, an advisor to the Palestinian peace negotiators.

Mr. 'Aruri warned that if the American participation in the peace talks was along the lines of its role in handling Resolution 799, then the Palestinians would come "under tremendous pressure" from both Israel and the U.S. to accept less than a complete withdrawal from all the territories the Jewish state occupied in 1967, including Arab East Jerusalem.

The Palestinian leadership is now seeking a clarification on the form and content of American participation, according to a senior PLO official.

"We requested from the U.S. a new letter of assurances that their participation will be based on the original letter of assurances and letter of invitation to the Madrid conference and to clarify their position on 242 and 338," the official, speaking on condition of anonymity, told the Jordan Times.

The official added the U.S. informed the Plestinian that the American role would be discussed with Russia, a co-sponsor of the talks. The source added that the PLO was convinced this role would not be similar to that of the Camp David discussions where the U.S. actually sat on the negotiating table during the Israeli-Egyptian peace talks in the late 1970s.

Opponents of the peace talks, however, expect that a direct American role meant a Camp David-style approach where the U.S. would "dictate" how the talks between Israel and the Arabs should proceed.

"With the Americans sitting on the table, the U.S. would most likely prepare a settlement, probably unsatisfactory to all parties in the talks, but will have to be signed by the participants who will claim they had come under pressure to sign," predicted Labib Kamhawi, a political analyst and strong opponent of the peace process.

But for the Palestinians involved in the process, an American clarification on their interpretation of 242 and 338 as well as a declaration that the U.S. regards the occupied territories as such and not as "disputed areas" would be sufficient to believe that the U.S. would be impartial in its role.

According to Palestinian delegates, one of the main obstacles resulting in the stalemate on the Palestinian-Israeli track of the negotiations was that Israel regards the West Bank and Gaza as "disputed area," while the Palestinians insist on dealing with it as "occupied Palestinian territory (OPT)."

"If the Americans declare that this area is OPT and not disputed land, then resolutions 242 and 338 would automatically mean Palestinians would have full jurisdiction over the land," Mr. 'Aruri told the Jordan Times.

He added that such an American clarification—"in the form of an agreement signed by both the U.S. and Israel"—would give a "very positive push for the peace process."

"But if this did not happen," Mr. 'Aruri said, "then we would be better off without the American partnership."

NY Bomb Called Reaction to 'Unjust' Policies

PM0303091193 London AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI in Arabic 1 Mar 93 p 11

[Editorial: "Booby-Trapped Cars Finally Reach New York"]

[Text] It is a familiar occurrence when there are explosions in the Arab homeland, the Third World, or even some Western capitals such as London, Paris, and Madrid. News agencies and recipients of their dispatches are used to that, but when booby-trapped cars reach the heart of New York and hit its greatest landmark and most famous commercial center, then it is a precedent which deserves a long pause.

Under the old world order, introduced by the United States and its triumphant World War II allies, the world suffered many coups, disturbances, and civil wars, but the leader of the Western world remained "immune" to these ilis. In fact, through its intelligence organs, it became a legend, poking its nose everywhere and plotting coups and assassinations. Its pretext was always the same: It fought outside its territory to prevent trouble from reaching it.

God knows, but it seems that the American magic is beginning to turn on its master. Regardless of who was behind the recent explosion in New York's World Trade Center, that explosion rang down the curtain on an era of security and stability enjoyed by the United States over the past 50 years.

The policies of blockades, propaganda warfare, and massive expenditures on armament succeeded in bringing down the Soviet empire. Former U.S. President George Bush and his Western allies drank a toast to that on its debris, but that joy will not last long. The U.S. $300 trillion [preceding word in English] deficit is a heavy burden and it threatens a trade and economic war between allies. The New York explosion was the bell's toll.

Surely this precedent may encourage other parties to do the same thing one way or another. Many peoples scorched by the fire of partial and unjust U.S. foreign policy look for revenge and vendetta. The United States is a country of varied communities and nationalities, it has serious social problems, the gap between its rich and its poor is getting wider, and arms are available to everyone under the law. All this is a recipe for multiple acts of violence and terrorism.

We concede that such terrorist acts which only target innocent people's lives and security cannot solve any problem. They may even complicate problems, but the question which must always be asked is a question about those who are behind the erroneous policies which produce extremism and extremists.

The United States has been haughty and despotic, its arrogance of power blinding it and preventing it from seeing the obvious. It has imposed a blockade against Iraq and intensified another blockade against Cuba and is planning a third blockade in the Balkans, fueling a war between comrades in arms in Afghanistan, and planning other wars here and there.

This is the first time in the history of the United Nations that the Security Council has been turned into an instrument for emptying resolutions of their value to serve one world superpower. This is the first time that international law has been used for killing children by starvation and disease on the pretext of noncompliance with international law.

The world is increasingly angry because of the U.S. policies, which are grudgingly against everything that is not American, especially if it is Arab or Muslim. It is natural that explosions would occur as a reaction to the lack of justice and peace and the unfair distribution of wealth in the world.

The explosion which occurred in the heart of New York was an unjustified act of terrorism and a crime against innocent people, but we must also remember that dropping a 100,000 tons of explosives on Iraq was also an act of terrorism, and the support for all of Israel's repressive policies in the occupied territories is even more cruel than the repression itself.

'Arafat Receives Message From Russian Foreign Minister

LD0303195993 Algiers Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1900 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Brother President Abu-'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat], has received an important message from Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on what has been done with regard to the current circumstances resulting from the Russian-Palestinian talks in Moscow following the meeting of the Russian-Palestinian committee and after U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's tour of the region and the Russian-American contacts that followed it. The message also contained an understanding of the Palestinian position vis-a-vis the current developments.

Rejection Front Reaffirms Stance on Deportees Issue

PM0403085893 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 3 Mar 93 p3

[Salwa al-Ustuwani report: "Rejection Front Reaffirms Opposition to Madrid Process"]

[Text] Damascus—Leaders of the 10 Palestinian factions "opposed to the peace process" held a lengthy meeting in Damascus lasting from Monday evening to early morning yesterday.

The meeting was attended by leaders from Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] and other factions. A Palestinian official source has stated that the conferees discussed the latest political developments, the deportees issue, the accelerating Palestinian intifadah in the occupied territory, and the results of U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's tour of the region. They made a comprehensive assessment of all developments at all levels.

The Hamas delegation reported on the results of the contacts on the deportees issue and the recent U.S. move in the course of Christopher's tour of the region. In this context, the 10 Palestinian factions reaffirmed their firm position rejecting division of the deportees issue and all attempts to circumvent that issue. They insisted on Resolution 799 which calls for the immediate and total repatriation of the deportees. They also confirmed their firm position rejecting the Madrid-Washington process and determination to continue to resist the administrative self-rule plot, stressing the need for withdrawal from the current negotiations.

The Palestinian official source speaking on behalf of the conferees added that they discussed the mounting Palestinian intifadah and armed struggle and the need to strengthen them and to perpetuate resistance to the occupation. They made a number of decisions to reinforce the Palestinian struggle and resistance against the occupation and the designs aimed at undermining the Palestinian people's cause and national rights. They also took a number of steps to watch developments in the coming phase and to confront all the U.S.-Israeli plans they try to impose on the Palestinian people.

Egypt

Musa on Israeli Measures in Peace Process

NC0303165593 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1526 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Cairo, 3 Mar (MENA)—Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa has commented on Israel's oppressive measures against the inhabitants of Gaza Strip, saying that such measures mar the general atmosphere of the peace process. He added that these measures violate the Geneva conventions and worsen the situation.

He called for an end to all these measures and all practices contradicting the Geneva conventions.

in a statement today, Musa said the foreign ministers of the countries concerned with the Middle East peace process will hold a meeting at the end of March to discuss the region's developments and prepare for the next round of the peace talks.

World's 'Bystander Attitude' on Israel Condemned

NC0403074993 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0715 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Cairo, 4 Mar (MENA)—AL-AKHBAR denounced the bystander attitude the world is taking regarding Israel's violation of international law, the UN Charter, and human rights agreements. With its prisons filled with tens of thousands of Palestinians, Israel recently decided to turn the entire Gaza Strip into a huge prison, AL-AKHBAR says.

In its editorial today, the paper reports that the Israeli troops have cordoned off an area housing almost a million people because two Israelis have been killed. The paper adds that Israeli soldiers have killed and wounded many Palestinians without being brought to account.

AL-AKHBAR adds that Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin's recent conduct puzzles and astonishes most international observers, particularly because it contradicts remarks he made about peace when he first took power. Rabin's stance on the Middle East peace negotiations has become questionable and ambiguous; he seems to want to torpedo the Washington talks before they resume in April by continued provocative acts, hoping to force Arabs to withdraw from the talks.

The paper concludes that Rabin's actions and recent decisions indicate that he is bent on doing away with all credibility.

'Nothing' Said To Prevent Mubarak-Rabin Meeting

NC0403122893 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 2 Mar 93 p 1

[Text] Jerusalem, news agencies—Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin has said that President Husni Mubarak's visit to Israel was discussed in his Sunday [22 February] meeting with Dr. Usamah al-Baz, first Foreign Ministry under secretary and director of the President's Office for Political Affairs.

AL-AHRAM's political editor learned that Rabin invited President Mubarak to visit Israel during the former's recent visit to Cairo, and that the invitation is still valid.

The editor learned that no date for the visit has been set because the two countries are busy with the peace process and with other commitments, particularly President Mubarak's visit to the United States next month.

AL-AHRAM's political editor learned that there is nothing preventing President Mubarak and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin from meeting anywhere if circumstances warrant.

Foreign Minister Discusses Current Issues

NC0303154293 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1300 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Cairo, 3 Mar (MENA)—Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa has said Egypt will not consider the Middle East file closed until a just and fair settlement is achieved, noting that Egypt is working to find a solution for the Palestinian issue. He said certain quarters believe it is possible to close the file in a way that is not satisfactory to all parties. He said those working to merely bury or liquidate the Palestinian issue are wrong, adding that such attempts will not be successful and will lead to utter chaos. He said attempts to liquidate the issue may lead to a state of calm for a certain period of time but things will erupt once again, adding that Egypt is against any attempt to liquidate the issue.

In a dialogue with the Egyptian magazine AL-MUSAWWAR, Musa said: We do not see any future for the Middle East if wars continue in the region—this is our position on the Arab-Israeli question, the Horn of Africa, and Northern Africa—disturbances will lead to instability throughout the region. Egypt's position is clear. We want to find a just solution for the region's problems so that we can move into a new era of cooperation, progress, and interaction among the region's peoples and countries.

Musa said the situation in the Arab world is as bad as it can get and the regional situation is also serious. He said the world situation is in a state of flux and that the rules have yet to be established following the end of the old order. He said: We are going through a transitional period that may last until the end of the nineties, until things settle down. He stressed that the world cannot follow the old ways if local and international democracy are called for. It is incumbent upon us to be involved in shaping the new world, which will be formed by the major states, leading regional powers, countries with cultural contributions, and countries which promise future contributions.

Musa said the Palestinian issue will occupy a prominent place in President Husni Mubarak's talks with U.S. President Bill Clinton on his trip to the United States. The talks will also deal with the Horn of Africa, Somalia, security in the Gulf, and Egyptian-U.S. relations.

Musa said the Arab parties participating in the peace process are out of step with each other, despite the existence of the five-party [Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, PLO, and Egypt] coordination process, due to the different reasons for their participation in the talks and the extreme sensitivities harbored by some parties toward the others.

Musa stressed the need to eliminate Arab sensitivities. He said it is Syria's right to make progress in its negotiations to get back the Golan Heights. It is also the Palestinians' right to complain that there has been no progress on their front. It is the duty of all us to help the Palestinians in their contacts with Israel and the United States. In this way, ultimately, the peace we desire will be achieved and the Middle East file will be closed.

Musa said we are envisioning a two-stage solution to the Palestinian issue. The first is a transitional stage for a period of five years. Negotiations on the final status of the occupied territories will begin before the third year. This means movement from the status of occupation to the status of self-rule [hukm dhati], before a final status is agreed upon. Thus, we hope that the Syrian-Israeli talks will not last five years. If an agreement is reached on the future of the Golan Heights, the matter will need certain measures while at the same time progress can be made on the Palestinian track.

Musa said that if an acceptable Palestinian self-rule is achieved, we will have put the Palestinian issue on the correct track. However, in the event Israel agrees to withdraw from the Golan Heights, I cannot ask Syria to reject this.

Musa denied reports about ongoing contacts between Egypt and Iraq. He said there is no mediation between the two countries. He indicated that Iraq has agreed to augment the Egyptian Interests Section in Baghdad, especially because thousands of Egyptians work in Iraq.

Commenting on Turkey's restoration of relations with Iraq, Musa said Turkey and Iraq have a number of problems in common in which several Iraqi, Turkish, and Kurdish elements are involved. The two governments decided that a Turkish charge d'affaires should be posted in Baghdad.

On the Gulf states' stand on the Damascus Declaration, Musa said he does not believe that they are eschewing their obligations. He said the framework itself has been shaken due to inconsitent implementation of the declaration. He expressed concern over the fate of the Damascus Declaration if the present stalemate continues.

He said there are good intentions on the part of several Gulf states to implement the economic part of the agreement and to bilaterally implement the security part. Egypt has no objection to the implementation of the economic part or bilateral implementation of the security part. Syria also approves of this arrangement.

Musa called for an equal and fair treatment of all the states of the Middle East in light of recent development. He asked why Israel is allowed to make progress in the nuclear, missile technology, and conventional weapons fields and to participate in strategic defense initiatives while we are asked to join all arms control agreements. He said it is unacceptable and regretable, but we will not sign these agreements.

Musa said Iran is an Islamic state which has certain views that do not conform to the views of other states in the region. There are numerous complaints about the kind of language it uses against several Arab states. However, the door is still open for equal and correct relations to be established on sound bases.

Musa categorized the results of the Egyptian delegation that travelled to Khartoum to discuss the Hala'ib isssue as not bad. He said the most important thing is that the talks will continue. The committee will meet again. We do not intend to enter into a showdown or to escalate the situation. What is important is to uphold the inviolability of our borders. He said the Hala'ib issue is part of a dispute between Egypt and Sudan that stems from a disagreement with certain Sudanese policies.

On the United Nations and the current campaign against UN Secretary General Dr. Butrus-Ghali, Musa stressed that Dr. Butrus-Ghali is playing a very important role in bringing new life to the United Nations. He does not work as a UN employee that only implements what the international consensus decides, he submits hiw own views as happened in Somalia and elsewhere.

Musa said there is nothing new so far in Libya's crisis with the West. There is a possibility that the Arab League seven-member committee will meet ahead of schedule to discuss this subject.

Musa also explained that the situation in Somalia is difficult. He said that there are several fanatic trends in a state which has collapsed from within, not because of a foreign invasion or foreign threats, but because of those fanatic trends. He said the question of sending Egyptian forces to join the UN forces in Somalia depends on future requirements of the United Nations.

Musa said that his ministry will establish a new department to archive agreements and treaties by photocopying them and storing the original documents.

Al-Baz Discusses Arab Role in 'New World Order'

NC0303175593 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1334 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Cairo, 3 Mar (MENA)—Dr. Usamah al-Baz, foreign ministry first under secretary and director of the president's office for political affairs, has emphasized that the importance of military force in the new world order is receding and that economic power is taking the lead. He noted that the primary challenge currently facing the world is an economic one, citing as an example the collapse of the Soviet Union despite its military might.

In several years, he said, military power is expected to rank last in importance, behind economic, political, and cultural power. He emphasized that any country unable to develop economically will fall behind in this new order.

Al-Baz said the concept of sovereignty in the past meant an absolute sovereignty but the concept has changed, becoming more relative. He said the United Nations is currently playing a new role in the world, exemplified by its recent efforts at peacemaking rather than its past role of peacekeeping.

Dr. al-Baz was speaking at an intellectual gathering in Cairo last night under the theme "The Arab Nation's Standing in the New World Order."

Al-Baz stressed the need to continue the peace process so that the region's countries will be able to seriously confront foreign and domestic challenges. He said the region needs stability to face certain challenges, including: increasing production in all spheres, absorbing world technology, developing education, developing services, and so forth. He said we must work for progress even if it is slow. What is important is that we begin, and continue, on the right track if we want to have a role in shaping the new order.

He said Egypt seeks to expedite the peace process and welcomes the convening of a ninth round of negotiations in April. He stressed the need for all parties in the peace negotiations to reach an agreement with Israel this year and not waste the opportunity to bring about stability in the region.

Commenting on reports about an Egyptian-Iraqi rapprochement, he said a rapprochement with Iraq should be achieved within a collective Arab framework and through consensus by all parties.

Al-Baz said that the Arabs, up until now, have not contributed noticeably to shaping the new world order and explained that this was due to the divisions in the Arab nation. He added that the Arab countries (?disagree) among themselves instead of seeking Arab solidarity. He pointed out the consequence of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait that caused a large crack in Arab solidarity. A large number of Arabs now believe that the danger may come from their brothers, which is a very serious matter.

Al-Baz discussed several issues preoccupying the Arab citizen, saying that old notions of unity become obsolete and overtaken by events. He called for a practical formula to revive the Arab movement, not necessarily in the direction of full integration but rather an Arab unity with a minimal degree of solidarity that will grow as time passes. He said the goal should not be to set up one government and obliterate the existing entities and privileges achieved by some of the Arabs. He also called for increasing Arab resources and the production of energy, and absorbing modern technology in all Arab countries. He said that the Arab countries are linked by strong, long-standing ties.

Referring to current religious extremism in some Arab countries, he said these movements concentrate their energy on overthrowing the current regimes and then on engaging in confrontations with the outside world.

Al-Baz reviewed the current world conditions and said that they are a prelude to the birth of the new world order and an era of progress and transformation. He said that the transformation stages are usually unstable and unclear and that some time is needed for the features of this order to become clear. Al-Baz also discussed the world powers, the situation in the Arab region, Japan, and the importance of peace.

Interior Minister: 'Real Terrorist Threat Has Receded'

NC0303211893 Cairo AL-AHRAM PRESS AGENCY in Arabic 1859 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Cairo, 3 Mar (AL-AHRAM PRESS AGENCY)—Interior Minister Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Musa said the real terrorist threat has receded in Egypt. He also said that all appropriate measures have been taken to protect tourists without inconviencing them.

Musa denied that there are 3,000 extremists in Egyptian prisons, indicating that there are 600 terrorists who will be put on trial.

Musa estimated the number of terrorists at 2000, stressing that we know them very well. There are two separate groups—al-Jihad and al-Takfir. He said that the real leaders of these groups live in capitals close to Egypt, which I do not want to name. We now the leaders of these groups very well.

Security Stepped Up at Night Spots, TV Station

NC0303213193 Paris AFP in English 1832 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Cairo, March 3 (AFP) - Egyptian authorities have reinforced security around the state-run television station, nightclubs and cinemas in Cairo for fear of attacks by Muslim extremists, a police spokesman said Wednesday.

He said the measures were taken after Egypt's mufti, Shaykh Sayyid Tantawi, urged Muslims to stop watching certain "indecent" television programs during the holy fasting month of Ramadan.

Tantawi, who said such programs were banned by Islam, was apparently referring to a nightly quiz show, involving riddles and dancing by the Egyptian actress Shirihan.

On Monday the cabinet rejected a call by a university professor to ban the show, which is popular in Egypt and broadcast to other Arab countries via satellite.

The cleric also denounced public sector firms which he said were brewing beer and wine and called for their closure, according to the opposition press. It said he made the calls at a meeting with students at Alexandria University.

Fearing that his remarks could revive Islamic unrest, the interior ministry ordered security reinforcements outside the television building, cinemas and nightclubs in the Egyptian capital, a police spokesman said.

Security has been stepped up in Cairo since Friday's bombing of a central cafe that killed three people, including a Swedish tourist, and wounded 20, with hotels and other places frequented by tourists given added protection.

Egypt has been wracked by Muslim fundamentalist violence for the past year, with extremists determined to set up an Islamic state in Egypt.

Intelligence Officer, Son Killed in Asyut Governorate

NC0403063193 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2310 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Asyut, Upper Egypt, 3 Mar (MENA)—Lieutenant Colonel Mahran 'Abd-al-Rahim, a state security intelligence officer, and his son were killed tonight while returning to their village of al- Duwayr, Markaz Sidfa district, Asyut Governorate in Upper Egypt, when unidentified gunmen opened fire on them. Security forces have taken great efforts to apprehend the perpetrators.

Major General 'Abd-al-Wahhab al-Hilali, assistant interior minister and Asyut security director, went to the site as soon as he was informed of the incident to lead the search.

Mauritania

President Receives Saddam's Envoy al-Tikriti

LD0403011393 Nouakchott ORTM Radio in Arabic 2300 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Excerpts] President Maaouiya Ould Sid Ahmed Taya received at the presidential palace this evening Barzan Ibrahim al-Tikriti, minister and political adviser to Iraqi President Saddam Husayn and his personal envoy to our president of the republic. [passage omitted]

After his meeting with the president, Barzan Ibrahim al-Tikriti made the following statement:

[Begin recording] We met with His Excellency President Maaouiya and we conveyed to him a letter from his brother His Excellency President Saddam and his greetings. The letter dealt with bilateral, Arab, and international relations.

The meeting was held in a friendly and fraternal atmosphere and we found that his excellency the president had good knowledge and understanding of the problems of the region, the importance of Arab solidarity, and the importance of solving Arab problems and getting the Arabs to close ranks. Thank you. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Morocco

Abdelaziz: Polisario Ready To Revive War

PM0403115693 Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French 26 Feb 93 p 14

[Interview with Polisario Secretary General Mohammed Abdelaziz by Daniel Luquero in Madrid; date not given]

[Text] Stopping over in Madrid, Mohammed Abdelaziz, secretary general of the Polisario [Popular Front for the Liberation of Saquia El Hamra and Rio de Oro], assured LE QUOTIDIEN that his movement is prepared to take up arms again if the United Nations gives way to King Hassan II's demands.

[Luquero] The draft Security Council resolution would give you three months to reach agreement with Morocco. Failing that, the United Nations will rule in favor of Rabat. What do you think about this?

[Abdelaziz] We have not been officially informed of this draft, so we are in the field of hypotheses here. There are only two possible options: Either Morocco retracts and agrees to implement the political accord which we signed in 1991. In which case the referendum could be organized very quickly. Or it sticks to its wish to impose 120,000 voters who have nothing to do with this accord. In that case Morocco must assume the entire responsibility for the continuing impasse. Accepting the Moroccan lists would mean legitimizing the occupation of the Sahara: The Security Council cannot connive at rigging of this kind. If it did, and if we found ourselves cornered, we would have no alternative but to revive the war.

[Luquero] Could the Polisario really allow itself to alienate the highest UN organ?

[Abdelaziz] People have short memories! In 1975 we were much weaker, friendless, and inexperienced. At that time no one cared about the Sahara question. But they could not make us renounce our legitimate right to independence.

[Luquero] What means are available? Algeria seems to have more pressing things to do than to support you. At the same time, Morocco and the EEC are moving closer together... Surely the international context is unfavorable to you?

[Abdelaziz] Our interpretation of the situation is different. We believe, on the contrary, that the climate is much better than in the past. During the cold war Rabat used to portray us as agents of communism. Today the right to self-determination is universally recognized. The correlation of forces between Morocco and the Polisario is against us, that is true. But it is precisely this imbalance that puts us in the right. More concretely, Algeria has not changed its stance concerning us.

Allow me to offer my own analysis. King Hassan is old, worn out with power. He has been gagging the opposition for years. Some 30 percent of the population live below the poverty line. Morocco today is a volcano. Why do people persist in predicting the collapse of Algeria, and not of Morocco? Having said that, we are not against an EEC-Morocco rapprochement. On the contrary, the question of the Sahara is only an obstacle to that rapprochement. What would really help Rabat would be to get rid of this burden...

UN Resolution on Western Sahara Welcomed

LD0303230293 Rabat RTM Television Network in Arabic 2030 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Ahmed Snoussi [Moroccan envoy to the UN], said the Moroccan delegation believes it has participated in a logical and constructive way in formulating [UN Security Council] Resolution 809, which will no doubt facilitate the speedy, just and durable settlement of the issue of the Sahara, although it calls for sacrifices and concessions from Morocco.

He hailed the UN Security Council's endorsement of this resolution which had the unanimous backing of the Council's members who desire to see the settlement process proceed in a normal course and in the best conditions. Snoussi expressed the hope on Morocco's behalf that fraternity and solidarity will replace the commotion and agitation which have characterized the interventions of some foreign delegations at the UN Security Council while they are expected to act honestly.

Hassan Receives Cable From Clinton on Throne Day

LD0303142593 Rabat MAP in English 1223 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Rabat Mar. 03 (MAP)—On the occasion of the 32nd anniversary of the Throne Day, American President William Clinton addressed King Hassan II of Morocco a congratulation cable in which Clinton wished the sovereign "health, peace and prosperity in the year ahead".

The American President said "the American people and I attach great importance to our close and historic relationship with Morocco. I value highly our partnership in dealing with such crucial issues as the Middle East peace process. I also appreciate Morocco's constructive role in the United Nations, particularly during its presidency of the UN Security Council.

"Your Majesty, there are many areas in which Morocco and the United States share mutual interests and concern. Over the next four years, I want our governments to work together closely to promote those interests and address those concerns in a way that will strengthen our bilateral relations.

"On behalf of the American people, I want to wish you and the Moroccan people health, peace and prosperity in the years ahead."

The monarch also received a congratulation message from President of the Algerian High State Committee Ali Kafi in which Kafi expressed "warm congratulations and best wishes" on the occasion of the king's coronation day.

"I avail myself with the opportunity to express, to Your Majesty, our determination to enhance the fraternal ties between our two countries and our two brotherly peoples in all areas and to consolidate the bases of our Grand Maghreb", the message said.

For his part, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan of Pakistan wished the sovereign long life, health and happiness and prayed so that the Moroccan people make "greater strides forward for progress and prosperity".

He also said he was "certain the fraternal relations and cooperation between our two countries will continue to grow in strength in the years ahead for the interest of our two peoples and entire Islamic ummah.

Six Commissions Created by Social Affairs Ministry

LD0303150093 Rabat MAP in English 1241 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Rabat, Mar 03 (MAP)—Six commissions were created to promote dialogue between the government and social partners, says a communique by the Moroccan Economic and Social Affairs Ministry.

The commissions will be in charge of health, housing, social security and employment issues, says the communique inviting representatives of all concerned sectors and trade unions to collaborate with the commissions.

Sudan

Al-Bashir Interviewed on Islamic Law, Hala'ib

NC0203153093 Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 24 Feb 93 p 1, 11

[Interview with Lieutenant General 'Umar Hasan al-Bashir, chairman of Sudan's National Salvation Revolution Command Council, by AL-SAFIR correspondent Ghassan Bin-Jaddu in Khartoum; date not given]

[Text] [Bin-Jaddu] When you took power more than three years ago you declared the adoption of rule by Islamic law. Why the insistance on "an Islamic state" in a country with several religions and nationalities?

[Al-Bashir] Because there are several cultures and religions in Sudan, when we declared the application of the Islamic shari'ah, we decided that it would only be applied in the northern provinces with a Muslim majority and not in the southern provinces with a non-Muslim majority. Thus, we have given all segments of the population the freedom to exercise their religious and cultural identities. Application of the Islamic shari'ah does not deprive followers of other religions of their rights. We understand that religious freedom does not mean coercing or depriving anyone of excercising the rites of their religion. We act according to this rule, Christians in our country have churches and we pledge to donate land to churches and to maintain them and protect their followers. An individual's civil rights are not affected by his religious or ethnic affiliation. Non-Muslims are allowed to hold posts in the state's constitutional, military, or diplomatic establishments. There are Christian members of the Revolution Command Council as well as cabinet ministers, regional ministers, governors, ambassadors, administrative officials, and army officers. Therefore, the Islamic shari'ah that we understand and apply does not deprive anyone of religious, cultural, or civil rights.

[Bin-Jadduh] The Sudanese opposition says that your regime represents the INF [Islamic National Front]. Do you still refuse to admit your connection with it?

[Al-Bashir] In fact, the INF itself is too small to accommodate the Islamic trend in Sudan. The desire to adopt an Islamic plan is not confined to the INF. The main active parties used to raise the Islamic slogan and these parties participated in the latest parliamentary elections in 1988. The slogan of the electoral program of the Ummah Party, which is based on Islamic principles with the Ansar sect as its backbone, was "Islamic revival." The Democratic Unionist Party, which relied on the religious sect of al-Khatmiyah, raised the slogan of "the Islamic republic." The INF focused on the slogan of "application of the Islamic shari'ah." This means that there is an Islamic orientation in the basic platform of these main parties. I mentioned these parties because they represent the most important political trends in the country and won the most seats in the parliament. The Islamic plan, at least in terms of its program, propaganda, and mobilization, is not limited to the INF. When we declared our endorsement of the Islamic course in ruling the country, we wanted to assimilate all the Sudanese people who believe in Islam's justice. We succeeded in this, but the former party leaders have lost their posts and privileges and currently have no bonds with the population.

[Bin-Jaddu] But it is obvious that members of the INF are influential in the government's institutions.

[Al-Bashir] I do not deny it. But this does not mean we are an INF government. The INF was dissolved on the first day of the revolution along with all the other parties. The reason the majority of government officials are former INF members is that when we sought the assistance of educated cadres with Islamic leanings, we found that most of them were INF members. We were not surprised by this. In the latest parliamentary elections, the INF won 100 percent of the vote in the constituencies of university graduates. When we assumed power and declared the National Salvation Front a radical change to the previous defunct eras, we made it clear that we would cooperate with any person that accepts the revolution and cooperates with it, irrespective of his party background. The INF base and cadres were the first to cooperate although their leaders, at that time, were in prison along with the other party leaders. Those elements did not negotiate posts and responsibilities. We treated the other parties equally, but regrettably, although they were Islamic-oriented, most of their leaders were secular. The Democratic Unionist Party, for example lacked Islamic leaders that could competently shoulder the responsibility of Islamic action in the country. There are a few exceptions, of course, notably brother Husayn Sulayman Abu-Salih (appointed foreign minister a few days ago), who previously held ministerial and parliamentary posts. Many of the cadres of the Ummah Party are shouldering their responsibilities with us in the government as ministers or as governors.

[Bin-Jaddu] Is this "power partnership" enough to save Sudan from its difficult economic and security situation? Perhaps a comprehensive national reconciliation is necessary.

[Al-Bashir] We believe that one of the main reasons for Sudan's backwardness in the past was partisan conflicts. It was not a rivalry among programs and plans, but among leaders over narrow personal interests. We believe that the comprehensive national strategy of the current policy of the state and revolution will save Sudan from backwardness. Everybody, therefore, can find a position in his country; we will not exclude anyone.

Party leaders exercised power in the past. They failed and the people rejected them, the people will not accept their return in their old form.

[Bin-Jaddu] Will the Army hand over power to civilians?

[Al-Bashir] The issue is not the Army, but the political system. We will leave power after the completion and entrenchment of the political system. But of course, we will not give power to parties.

[Bin-Jaddu] With the exception of the INF?

[Al-Bashir] Neither the INF nor any other party because all parties are banned. This does not mean that we are practicing or will practice political isolation. We do not object to having anyone join the ranks of public action, so long as it is in line with the political system and the organs and programs of the state. While it may be true that some leaders and cadres from the INF are participating in the government, we will not deal with its main leaders or figures. However, I wish to repeat that the armed forces came to rescue the country and effect change, not to stay in power. They will relinquish power at a specific time.

[Bin-Jaddu] When is this specific time?

[Al-Bashir] The political system we have begun to entrench requires some time to be finalized. It would require a lengthy explanation so I will only explain its general features here. It is a system of popular congresses where legislation begins with basic congresses open to all citizens in all areas. The congresses will then be organized in gradual stages of local council, province, state, and headquarters.

We have now finalized the formation of local government institutions and most provincial congresses. This will be followed by organizing the congresses in the states and forming state parliamentary councils. This, in turn, will be followed by electing the central national parliamentary council. We have also decided to organize professional congresses to include all unions and federations. These are the economic, social, women's, and youth and students' congresses.

In this way, all the citizens and all sectors will participate in legislation and power. I believe that this (finalizing the formation of the political system) will take place over a period of one or two years at the most. A head of state will be elected directly by popular vote. I believe that such a political system will avert becoming caught, once again, in a vicious circle.

[Bin-Jaddu] Why have Sudan's foreign relations suffered recently, especially with other Arab countries, when they were good before you came to power?

[Al-Bashir] We have not harmed any Arab country. All the accusations made against us are false. There are many accusations that we harbor terrorists, that we set up training centers for terrorists, that we harbor members of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard, and that Iran has moved its activities from Lebanon to Sudan. These rumors are false and after three and a half years of being in power, no one has proven the existence of one terrorist in Sudanese territory. No one has been able to provide one piece of solid evidence that there are training centers for non-Sudanese people here.

All these accusations have only one objective—to ruin Sudan's reputation abroad. I believe the major reason for this is our decision to be independent and to adhere to the Islamic trends that are rejected in many countries.

[Bin-Jaddu] What about your relations with Egypt, don't you believe that Egypt should have a special position due to your shared borders and historic links? Why are there so many problems piling up between the two countries, especially the Hala'ib issue?

[Al-Bashir] We, the Sudanese, did not demarcate the borders with Egypt because, at that time, our country was colonized by Britain and Egypt. They are the ones who demarcated the borders with us and placed the Hala'ib triangle within Sudanese territory. Ever since Sudan was governed by the dual administration of Britain and Egypt, this triangle belonged to the Sudanese Government and it has remained that way until now.

The borders were demarcated on the basis that the al-Bushahriyin tribes belonged to Sudan and the al-'Ababidah tribes belonged to Egypt. Because this triangle was inhabited by the al-Bushahriyin, it was annexed to Sudan. As proof of this, all the elections that have taken place in Sudan have included the inhabitants of the Hala'ib region. No Egyptian elections have included this triangle, whose inhabitants did not carry Egyptian citizenship or Egyptian identity cards and never asked to be conscripted. I believe the recent provocations are part of a process which began during the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, when we refused to stand on the side of the United States.

[Bin-Jaddu] It has been said that you are seeking to establish a new Arab front embracing Sudan, Libya, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen?

[Al-Bashir] We are not thinking of anything of this sort. We are seeking to improve our relations with all the Arab countries. We do not confuse isssues and we do not seek to establish fronts. We firmly believe that any differences among the Arab and Islamic countries are in the interest of the common enemy, who is behind all our differences. It is enough to look at what happened during the first and second Gulf wars. Iraq's and Iran's powers were destroyed. The Arab power was then destroyed. Lots of funds were squandered and we only reaped the destruction of vital resources. Our military and economic powers were destroyed. We are doing the enemy's job on his behalf.

[Bin-Jaddu] It seems that the negotiations with the armed opposition in the south have stopped or perhaps failed. Do you believe a military victory in your favor will solve the problem once and for all?

[Al-Bashir] I would like to say that the problem of the south is political and the solution therefore must be political. This is the reason we have paid so much attention to this problem, giving it top priority from the beginning. We held a conference in which various factions were represented in order to find a political solution for the problem. The conference discussed the issue in depth and in a new way. We discussed the roots of the problem, which dates back to the 19th Century. We discussed the experiments of other states which have similar problems and how they solved these problems. We prepared a peace program—not a war program—which we authenticated in Arabic, French, and English. In this program we admitted that there is a problem in the south, which requires a solution. There should be a just distribution of the national wealth and balanced development throughout Sudan. We admitted that there must be fair power sharing and that religion's relationship with the state must be clearly defined. On this basis, the southern regions were excepted from the application of the Islamic law. We decided to establish a federation and not autonomy. This has been the main demand of the brothers in the south since independence. We are now seeking to complete the necessary practical steps for this political system. We are not seeking the military defeat of the southerners. We have a peace program. Military action is something imposed on us. It is the state's duty to impose its authority and sovereignty on its regions. Naturally, the battles will stop if we establish peace.

Foreign Minister Meets With Egyptian Envoy

EA0303171093 Khartoum SUNA in English 0924 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Khartoum, 3 Mar (SUNA)—Foreign Minister Dr. Husayn Sulayman Abu-Salih met Tuesday [2 March] the Egyptian ambassador to Sudan, Dr. Hasan Jad-al-Haq. The official source at Foreign Ministry said to SUNA the meeting reviewed the latest development relating between the two countries.

The minister said the last meeting with Egyptian foreign minister at Addis Ababa was successful. The minister affirmed on the necessity of positive relation that serving the interest of two sisterly countries [sentence as received].

Egyptian foreign minister congratulated the minister on the occasion of fast month [Ramadan].

Sudanese Speaker on Hala'ib, Iran, Somalia

NC0203144793 Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 21 Feb 93 p 16

[First part of an "exclusive" two-part interview with Muhammad al-Amin Khalifah, speaker of the Sudanese interim Parliament, by KEYHAN correspondent Sa'id Khakrend in Khartoum; date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

[Khakrend] What is Sudan's stance on the deployment of U.S. forces in Somalia?

[Khalifah] Herman Cohen, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, came to us and we told him: As Sudanese, we will not prevent humanitarian aid to Somalia, because events in Somalia are a human catastrophe. There are some countries where people are dying of hunger; in other countries they are dying of overeating and overspending. I swear to God, we know that in some countries the food given to dogs and cats is better than the food they are giving the Somalis. The Arab countries are indifferent to the human calamity in Somalia, even though Somalia is an Islamic country. The African countries are also unconcerned about Somalia, even though it is an African country. [passage omitted]

[Khakrend] The occupation of the Hala'ib triangle by the Egyptian regime has not been reported very extensively in the Sudanese mass media and we have not seen any strong reaction by the Sudanese Government. Why?

[Khalifah] This goes back to 1958 when the Egyptian Government staked its claim to some territory in this region and said it belongs to Egypt. It is Sudanese territory and was not demarcated by the Sudanese, because during colonial rule, the British and Egypt imposed their own boundaries jointly. So this demarcation was done by the Egyptians themselves. When our forefathers came they saw the area as it was; Hala'ib has a Sudanese identity and is an inseparable and integral part of Sudan.

We challenge them and if they have the courage they can convene a referendum; we are confident the result would favor Sudan. Hala'ib is part of Sudan's map, its laws, agreements, protocols, and administrative and government issues. I can say that Egypt is not the one making the decisions.

The instructions are being dictated to Egypt from outside and are linked with issues other than Egypt, that is, with international Zionism. Those circles seek to stoke the fires of discord in the Islamic world so that Sudan may become involved in the Hala'ib issue, Iraq in the Persian Gulf, Qatar and Saudi Arabia in their own border disputes, and all Islamic countries in some peripheral and marginal issues. So the Hala'ib problem is a Zionist plot.

We believed it is a problem between Sudan and Egypt and that it can be solved amicably. If not, we had planned to refer it to the Arab League. If it remained unsolved, we would resort to the union of African countries and ultimately to the United Nations if need be. Thus, we could reach a peaceful solution so that there would be no bloodshed. We would be answerable to God for any bloodshed, because the Sudanese and Egyptians are Muslim brothers.

We tried for an amicable solution, but, as I said earlier, the Egyptians don't make the decisions. [passage omitted]

I believe that the rights of the just are vindicated and truth will eventually triumph. My advice to the Egyptians is that they should realize this situation is not to their benefit. This is a Zionist plot and if the Egyptians could wait for decades over their differences with the Zionist regime on the Tabah issue, they can wait a few years to solve their dispute with Egypt so that the talks may have an outcome. If they have any rights in this, they will be vindicated.

[Khakrend] What is the composition of the interim national parliament and participating factions? How are members selected?

[Khalifah] Parliament is an interim one and its aim is to transform this interim legitimacy to regular legitimacy and to formulate a legitimate legal structure for the system. We are following up how to establish such a system and transform the previous system into a representative parliament with 300 members, 250 of whom are official members. This means that for every 100,000 people, we have a deputy in parliament. Sudan has a population of 25 million. [passage omitted]

Al-Bashir on South Peace, Dispute With Egypt

JN0103190093 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1505 GMT 1 Mar 93

[Text] Khartoum, 1 Mar (INA)—Lieutenant General 'Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir, chairman of Sudan's National Salvation Revolution Command Council, has hailed the good relations between the two fraternal countries, Iraq and Sudan.

In an exclusive interview with an INA correspondent in Khartoum, al-Bashir said these relations are based on the common understanding of the leadership in the two fraternal countries of the need for Arab solidarity to counter the challenges facing the Arab nation.

He added: The distinguished level reached by these relations is a model for relations among Arab countries.

Lt. Gen. al-Bashir denounced the unfair economic blockade imposed on Iraq, pointing out that the continuation of this blockade confirms that the United Nations is employing double standards.

He stressed that the United Nations, which still refuses to lift the economic blockade imposed on Iraq despite its compliance with the UN Security Council Resolutions, stands helpless and fails to force the Zionist entity to respect the UN Security Council resolutions.

Al-Bashir urged all Arab states to lift the blockade imposed on Iraq, emphasizing that it is principally the Arab states that are blockading Iraq.

Lt. Gen. al-Bashir stressed that the aggression launched by the U.S.-Atlantic-Zionist coalition against Iraq sought primarily to halt the Iraqi march of progress and construction after it has become a threat to the U.S. and Western interests in the region.

Lt. Gen. al-Bashir said the meeting between a Sudanese Government delegation and John Garang, leader of the rebel movement in southern Sudan, was a step forward on the path toward peace. He noted that John Garang approved of what has been achieved during the first round of Abuja talks between the Sudanese Government and the rebel parties and expressed readiness to participate in the second round of these talks.

Lt. Gen. al-Bashir said he hoped that peace in southern Sudan would be achieved through the second round of talks in Abuja or the preliminary talks that will precede them.

Regarding the outcome of the meetings held by the Sudanese-Egyptian committee on the disputed Hala'ib area, al-Bashir said: From the beginning, Sudan had the conviction that the committee will not be able to resolve this issue, especially since the committee agreed in its previous meeting in Cairo in October 1992 not to take any measures that would harm relations between the two countries and to set up a security committee to resolve differences between the two countries. He noted that Egypt did not abide by what was agreed upon in the previous meeting. He also said that before the committee's recent meeting, the measures Egypt took did not only harm these relations, but also torpedoed them.

He added that Egypt has sent large number of troops to the Hala'ib area and established border markers on the 22d parallel. It also arrested citizens, began to speak of the annexation and settlement of Hala'ib and prospecting for minerals and water, and setting up check points. He noted that these measures were taken despite the agreement reached in the previous meeting not to carry out any act that would harm relations between the two countries.

The Sudanese leader explained that it has become very clear that the Egyptian side did not place any value on the committee's work, noting that Egypt's noncompliance with what was agreed upon confirms this fact. He said that Sudan accepted joining that committee following mediation by a number of Arab brothers and out of its desire to reach a solution. He said: It transpired that the committee did not have any power and discussed hot issues and academic questions when in reality we have a serious security problem which we should discuss within the framework of the committee, as well as the violations and the military occupation in Hala'ib.

He said that Egypt is not serious about reaching a solution to this problem since it decided to settle the dispute over Hala'ib through military means.

Regarding the current efforts to restore Arab solidarity, al-Bashir said he hopes these efforts will succeed in restoring Arab solidarity, which has now become an urgent need to counter the challenges and threats facing the Arab nation.

Iranian Aid Against 'Conspiracies' Sought

PM0303101793 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 2 Mar 93 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report: "Sudan Seeks Iran's Assistance To Confront 'Foreign Conspiracies'"]

[Text] London, Tehran, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT—The Sudanese Government has appealed to Iran to provide "urgent aid to confront the conspiracies designed to topple the Islamic regime in Khartoum," according to what well-informed sources said yesterday.

This appeal came in a message sent to Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani by Lieutenant General 'Umar

Hasan al-Bashir, chairman of the Sudanese Revolution Command Council, and delivered yesterday by Sudanese Cabinet Affairs Minister 'Awad Ahmad al-Jaz, who arrived in Tehran last Saturday.

Iranian sources say that Lt. Gen. al-Bashir requested greater Iranian aid at the economic and military level "in the coming serious times."

It is worth noting that, during his visit to Khartoum in December 1992, Hashemi-Rafsanjani agreed to open special credits for Sudan totaling $104 million, but Iran released only $3.2 million to purchase fuel for aircraft.

And the difficulties facing Iran have also limited its ability to fulfill its commitments toward its fundamentalist allies, including the Sudanese regime. Last December the Iranian national oil company sold an undeclared quantity of oil—allocated originally to Sudan—on the European market, according to oil industry sources. The company also announced a new policy under which it substantially reduced interest-free credit facilities provided to other states, including Sudan.

Sudanese Minister 'Awad Ahmad al-Jaz is also hoping to fix a date for Lt. Gen. al-Bashir's visit to Tehran. Iranian sources say that Tehran is not enthusiastic about receiving Al-Bashir at this stage because the Sudanese president wants to stop over in Baghdad to hold talks with Iraqi President Saddam Husayn.

The new Iranian budget has allocated some $1.2 billion for aid and foreign investment in "spreading Khomeyni's teachings." It is clear that Sudan is hoping to obtain its share from this. But the Iranian sources say that the figure is exaggerated and that it is unlikely that Iran has this sort of money to spend abroad in the new Iranian year, which begins 21 March.

Parliament Speaker on Relations With Iran

NC0203182793 Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 22 Feb 93 p 16

[Second part of an "exclusive" two-part interview with Muhammad al-Amin Khalifah, speaker of the Sudanese Interim National Parliament, by KEYHAN correspondent Sa'id Khakrend in Khartoum; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Khakrend] Is it possible that political parties will have a role in the future parliament of Sudan?

[Khalifah] There is nothing to prevent the participation of people who are members of a party or of individuals who were affiliated to other political factions in Sudan.

[Khakrend] Even in the capacity of a political party?

[Khalifah] As individuals there is no problem. However, in the political life of Sudan, there aren't any political parties. We convened a conference of all the political forces and reached a consensus that we should have a democratic council as our political program. This means a system which has a political council with free thinking, rather than a multiparty system. [passage omitted]

[Khakrend] We have heard conflicting reports about the Revolutionary Command Council. Dr. Turabi declared its dissolution but Lieutenant General 'Umar al-Bashir denied it. Eventually, Dr. Turabi was forced to issue a statement correcting his earlier announcement. Has the Revolutionary Command Council really been dissolved and if it has, what will it be replaced with?

[Khalifah] The Revolutionary Command Council will be completely dissolved in the future as we are moving on the path of democracy, from a revolutionary legitimacy to a regular legitimacy and therefore, this demands the dissolution of the Revolutionary Command Council.

This was announced by al-Bashir, right from the outset, in his first speech on 30 June 1989. [passage omitted]

From the legal point of view, the Revolutionary Command Council should be dissolved as soon as the political structure has been set up, so that it can be replaced by the new system. In the Revolutionary Command Council, all the three legislative branches as well as the executive and the judiciary are present [as published]. With the formation and convocation of the Interim National Parliament, legislative powers will be delegated to this parliament. Its members are also the members of the Revolutionary Command Council. Executive power rests with the cabinet members and most of the members of the Command Council hold ministerial posts. However as soon as the revolutionary status moves to regular legal status, the Revolutionary Command Council will be dissolved. [passage omitted]

[Khakrend] Does the Interim National Parliament have bilateral relations with the Islamic Majles of Iran? Has a friendship committee been set up between the two parliaments?

[Khalifah] We have strong relations with the Islamic Majles of Iran which we consider closest to us, as we have much in common. We hope that the relations between us and the Islamic Republic of Iran, especially between the two parliaments, will become stronger and more extensive so that we can capitalize on common experiences. We can also coordinate our stances and strive for an Islamic revival throughout the world.

[Khakrend] Do you have any message for the Iranian nation?

[Khalifah] We welcome the establishment of strategic relations which are very fraternal and friendly. There may be distance between two friends but not between two brothers. We welcome the brotherly relations with the Iranian nation and these relations should open up new opportunities and become a beacon for Islamic countries.

Relations between two countries are a source of annoyance for the powers of world arrogance whose propaganda labels Iran and Sudan as fundamentalists. Yes, we are fundamentalists and we abide by divine injunctions. The powers of world arrogance fear us because we have divine affiliations. We may be denigrated by other nations but between us we are friendly and kind and we follow the traditions of the Prophet, peace be upon him and his scion.

Islamic Front Leader Interviewed on Military

NC0303200993 Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 25 Feb 93 pp 1, 13

[Interview with National Islamic Front, NIF, leader Dr. Hasan al-Turabi by AL-SAFIR correspondent Ghassan Bin-Jaddu in Khartoum; date not given]

[Text] In an interview with AL-SAFIR, NIF leader Dr. Hasan al-Turabi said the Sudanese Army is the country's driving force. He denied that militarization is an outdated phenomenon and said the Army is the driving force behind the country's economic, political, educational, and social development. The NIF is considered to be the actual ruling power in Sudan.

Al-Turabi discussed his recent trip to North America and the attack he suffered there, which he said was planned by hostile circles. He said he might visit Washington during President Bill Clinton's term, stipulating that security measures must precede such a visit to protect his life.

Al-Turabi told AL-SAFIR that Christians in Sudan enjoy full rights under Islamic shari'ah and confirmed that the pope's visit to the country was for dialogue and rapprochement between heavenly religions.

Herewith the text of the interview:

[Bin-Jaddu] You refuse to acknowledge that the ruling military command in Sudan is merely a front for the NIF although observers and the Sudanese opposition say that is the case. Do you believe the Army has a function other than maintaining security? Furthermore, does not the Sudanese Government have a generally "police state" character, as some say?

[Al-Turabi] The Islamic movement in Sudan never showed partisan chauvinism, was always sensitive to the people's wishes, and supported every movement to safeguard the country's identity and independence. Sudan is too important to be ruled or controlled by a mere regime. Today the Army is not exercising police or security powers. Like other countries, Sudan has security and police forces to carry out security tasks. The Army's current role is to defend the country's unity and borders so that the people can carry out a national dialogue and set up a united political establishment that will, in time, turn into an economic union to develop the country. While the Armed Forces' chief task is to defend the country, a military man is also a citizen involved in the country's cultural, political, and economic life. There have been no conflicts between the Armed Forces and the people. Indeed, the Armed Forces helped the people when they rebelled against the so-called military governments of the 1950's, 1970's, and 1980's.

[Bin-Jaddu] Is not the regime you support in Sudan similar to the one in Algeria—which you condemned when it carried out a coup d'etat against the Algerian Islamic Salvation Front—with the one exception that the positions are reversed in Algeria, where the Army uses civilians as a front? In Sudan, the Army itself is the front behind which civilians hide. Is that not the case?

[Al-Turabi] Events in Algeria demonstrate that Islam is under attack and that people who wish to avoid Islam prevent a free vote. The Algerian Islamists never sought clandestine action: they were forced underground by government repression. Some Islamists were forced to resort to violence when terrorism became the only method the state was using against Islamic movements. In Sudan, it is different; there is no difference between civilians and the military. Sudan is a glowing, expansive country open to everyone. No one, however strong or influential, can whimsically dictate a policy to Sudan that contradicts the nation's conscience and identity. Perhaps those who visit Sudan or seek asylum in it notice that the people are in harmony with the current government, not because it is military or partisan, as some claim, but because it is responsive to the people's wishes and the citizen feels he is a partner in power. What must be made clear here is the conspicuous religious piety in the military. This is a reflection of Sudanese society's piety. Indeed, most of the country's former political parties were based on religion. Al-Mahdi's national rebellion in the 19th century was based on religion. The Islamic front has rested on a perpetually developing religious foundation in the second half of the 20th century. When the Armed Forces follow an Islamic policy, this does not mean they are representing a particular political party. They represent all Sudanese. The people are responsive to the Armed Forces, especially now that the latter are transferring their authority and economic power to the people's representatives. Most publicly owned business has been transferred to the private sector, prices have been deregulated, and currency transactions have been transferred to a free market; that is, to the people.

[Bin-Jaddu] But will the Army's clinging to power not lead to the militarization of the state, which will, in turn, lead to undermining the bases of the civilian population?

[Al-Turabi] No, the Army has transferred the economy from the state to the people, and the political will is now shifting from the state to the people. The Army also expands education to eradicate illiteracy in Sudan, opens roads to secure the communications network, and works to provide water and energy sources. This means that the Army is trying to prepare the people to determine their fate and run their affairs, something we have not seen done by former autocratic partisan or military governments. In Sudan now, we do not know the tyranny of a single man or the domination of a sect loyal to foreign power.

[Bin-Jaddu] It is said that you are the Michel 'Aflaq [founder of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party] of your country and that you rule from behind the curtain.

[Al-Turabi] I have given my message in books, articles, and public seminars and still seek to continue this role. I try also to receive many visitors to learn about the cultural developments in Sudan, whether from journalists, writers, or others who seek to know what takes place in our country. I give public lectures and try to find time to develop my writing. I do not render service only to Sudan; rather, I direct my movement toward and interact with the worldwide Islamic movement.

[Bin-Jaddu] This prompts me to ask about the Popular Arab and Islamic Congress, of which you are the secretary general. Is this congress not a facade for coordination among the world's Islamists?

[Al-Turabi] This congress is not limited to Islamic organizations. It expressed popular public opinion, which was an expression of the consensus of the Islamic nation and non-Muslim people of this nation during the Desert Storm war. We were invited to the congress, which was attended not only by Islamic movement leaders but also by leaders of many other movements, some of whom were pan-Arabic and Marxist.

Africa and Europe, which have not participated in Islamic movement conferences before, attended that congress, which was not concerned about political issues or judging one country in favor of another. Rather, the congress discussed the Islamic world's causes and sought to become a popular organization for the masses. However, reaction to the congress compelled it to somewhat limit its activity. Nevertheless, we hope the congress will resume its activity and revive to represent the Islamic nation's consensus vis-a-vis cultural issues and general afflictions besetting the Islamic nation and the entire world.

[Bin-Jaddu] What is the truth about the attack on you in Canada last year? Was it an act by an individual or a group? How is your health now?

[Al-Turabi] Although I do not recall the incident, I have no doubt whatsoever that it was not an individual act but the work of a group. Non-Sudanese enemies of the Islamic movement spread a rumor that I was terrorist and that I pose an Islamic danger to numerous regional regimes, perhaps even to Europe. Therefore, it was not surprising for me to bear the responsibility for the Islamic movement and its victories over the Western-international hegemony. Perhaps this provoked some Arab or Western parties to silence me completely to prevent me from threatening the profiteers. However, Almighty God decreed that I live. After they failed to kill me, these people thought they would silence me for a few years, but God revived me and cured by paralysis. Although my security situation is beset by all these difficulties and dangers, I will still be concerned about the Islamic nation's and the entire world's causes, God willing.

[Bin-Jaddu] Your visit to North America provoked many observers, even some Islamist observers. Why was there all this publicity about your visit to the United States, which you view as the biggest country of the new world order, which you consider oppressive?

[Al-Turabi] I am a Muslim. Any Muslim has to address the biggest tyrants, such as pharaoh, gently in the hope that he might relent. A Muslim has to argue softly with his rivals. The organization of the Popular Arab and Islamic Congress agreed to the principle of dialogue with the West so that its international relations would not be merely ties between the oppressed and former dominant colonialist forces. We are looking for ties between equal parties that engage in dialogue and exchange views. It was the first time U.S. society listened to an Islamic voice. Many arenas were open for me at the U.S. Government level; at the State Department, the House of Representatives, and the Senate. I also met with foreign policy, security, and scientific officials and experts and members of various Muslim, Arab, and African minorities.

I went through the same experience in England, where I used to live. But I did not then speak to people who were in power or with political influence but to my teachers. I spoke as an interlocutor, and an interlocutor has to base his arguments on precepts common to him and to the other side. I reminded them of the convergent tenets of Christianity and Islam and of the tenets of democracy and human and constitutional thinking. I believe that those who believed in dialogue were much influenced by my views and heard precepts they had never heard before. Hence, they turned toward a global humanitarian vision in an unprecedented way. Those involved in world schemes and plots started to fear the strength of this argument, which was brought to them by interlocutors from the Third World, the African world, and the Muslim world at a time when all the [non-Western] worlds were expected to lag behind, to be led, and not to participate in formulating world public opinion. The strong arguments they heard might have infuriated them. I believe that I argued and reached positive results and understanding with a large group of people, especially scholars and politicians in the United States. Even in England itself, where some senior Englishmen are still influenced by the spirit of colonialism, large groups among the younger generations are open to humanitarian dialogue.

[Bin-Jaddu] Do you intend to visit the United States during Clinton's administration?

[Al-Turabi] I might visit any spot in the world. Security has become one of the burdens that has to be taken into account. Many diplomats spoke to me before I visited North America about this matter. They came to me after my return and my injuries to blame me for not taking the necessary security measures in view of the so- called danger I represent to those who incorrectly believe Islam is a religion of terrorism, al-jihad, and danger and that it is part of an international plot against the West's economic, cultural, political, and military hegemony over the world. Hence, security considerations have become a necessity. However, I will never stop addressing the world.

[Bin-Jaddu] Is it fair and just for you to call for and apply the principles of Islamic shari'ah in a multireligious and multiethnic country?

[Al-Turabi] Yes. When Islamic shari'ah began in Medina, the town was multireligious. There were Jews and Muslims, and they established their new life with a constitutional document. Islam itself is not a Muhammadean religion but is the history of all the religions mentioned in the holy books since Abraham's time. Islam does not have a national [qawmiyah] or limited regionalism framework but is a system that deals with all variances in society, upholds a measure of freedom and decentralization, and is tolerant. We do not want to present Islam to Muslims only so that they go back to their ideal system. We want to present it as an example to the entire world.

[Bin-Jaddu] Can Christian rights be respected?

[Al-Turabi] Christians in Sudan enjoy a measure of rights, privileges, and equality in citizenship to a degree that Muslims in Europe do not enjoy. The latter know no weekends except those formulated by Christian traditions. They do not even know the rules of the law on relations between man and his wife except those enacted by Christian traditions on which Western laws are based. They even sometimes face difficulties with their dress, which does not always conform to prevailing dress.

[Bin-Jaddu] His holiness the pope's visit to Sudan was unexpected, especially because reports abroad depicted a tragic picture of the conditions of Christians in Sudan. What are the facts about and the reasons for this visit?

[Al-Turabi] It is known that the pope is trying to encircle the world so as to preach Christian Catholicism, which he represents. His activities are not limited to the Vatican, as was the case with his predecessors. There was nothing wrong in receiving him in Sudan. He asked to fly through Sudan's airspace, but he was invited to visit the country and debate with the Sudanese about the tenets of the common religions, which we all want to play a role in man's struggle with life. To have a dialogue and display the closeness between the divine religions were the only reasons for the visit.

Officers Said Arrested Over Conflict Within NIF

NC0303110493 Beirut AL-SHIRA' in Arabic
1 Mar 93 pp 12-13

[Text] AL-SHIRA' has learned that Major General 'Ali al-Sanusi, commander of the military zone in Omdurman, and several officers of the Armed Forces were arrested because of mounting conflict among power centers within the National Islamic Front [NIF].

NIF sources said the officers' arrest followed grumbling within the Sudanese Army. The officers publicly demanded severing the clear connection between the NIF and the regime and objected to continuing interference by certain civilians in Armed Forces affairs.

Maj. Gen. al-Sanusi was the first director of Sudan's Security Department after Ahmad Hasan al-Bashir staged his coup and was one of the most important figures involved in the coup. He was the officer in charge of Khartoum's military zone on the night of the coup on 30 June 1989.

Brigadier General al-Rashid 'Abdallah, member of the current legal military command, said Maj. Gen. al-Sanusi has long been known for his leanings toward the NIF. He said the arrest, which indicates the extent of the political impasse the authorities face, is a result of conflict within the NIF.

Al-Sanusi was the contact between the NIF regime and former President Ja'far Numayri to return Numayri to Sudan.

Western Sahara

Polisario Official on Conflict With Morocco, UN

BR0303162993 Brussels DE MORGEN in Dutch
19 Feb 93 p 7

[Article by Wim De Neuter: "Western Sahara at Crossroads Between War and Peace"]

[Excerpts] Brussels—"We came through the end of the Cold War unscathed. Many other liberation movements found it extremely hard to keep going and to adapt to the so-called 'new world order.' Not us." These are the words of Omar Mansour, head of the European section and member of the national secretariat of the Polisario Front, which has spent 20 years fighting for the independence of Western Sahara.

Last Saturday, Mansour was a guest in Brussels at an international symposium on the future of Western Sahara. [passage omitted]

Stalemate

"We have reached stalemate with the Moroccan troops in this war," Mansour told DE MORGEN. "We have recaptured some of our territory, but we cannot get the Moroccans out for good. Morocco itself fails to eradicate our resistance. After 17 years of war, we reached a compromise in 1990. The UN Security Council drew up a peace plan for Western Sahara and we agreed to it, even though we had to make many concessions which our people only grudgingly accepted. Our right to self-determination and independence is recognized by UN and OAU resolutions, but we still agreed to a referendum on the future of Western Sahara. The UN peace plan stipulates exactly how this referendum should be organized and who can participate. The plan allows for the participation of the 74,000 Sahrawis registered in the 1974 census carried out by the Spanish colonizers. They must be able to express their views freely on the question of whether Western Sahara should become independent or remain under Moroccan control, and the referendum must be organized under UN supervision. Morocco must withdraw some of its troops, but will retain a 65,000-strong military presence in Western Sahara. This was not an easy concession to make, particularly if you compare it with Namibia, which also underwent decolonization, but where the South African occupying force was limited to 1,500 soldiers during the elections organized by the United Nations. In Namibia, there were 4,000 UN troops. In Western Sahara, there are 2,800, and they are conspicuously inefficient. So far, they have done virtually nothing in response to the Moroccan army's countless breaches of the cease-fire. Morocco is still guilty of large-scale human rights violations in Western Sahara. Our people in the occupied territories are still being terrorized, while the UN forces just look the other way."

"Morocco has a bad reputation for electoral fraud," says Mansour. "Because the referendum is under UN supervision, it will be difficult to commit fraud openly. So the Moroccan regime is starting to cheat in advance. We cannot get the idea out of our heads that the previous UN Secretary-General, Perez de Cuellar, cooperated very closely with the Moroccans to strip the UN peace plan of its content. Three days before his term ended in 1991, Perez de Cuellar prepared a report for the Security Council, basing the organization of the referendum on quite different criteria. Not only the 74,000 Sahrawis counted in 1974 by the Spaniards were allowed to take part, but also an unspecified number of people, arbitrarily proclaimed by Morocco to be inhabitants of Western Sahara. Some Moroccan sources are now even talking of 174,000 eligible voters. We find this unacceptable. The peace plan must be implemented as it was approved by the Security Council, rather than according to Perez de Cuellar's personal interpretation."

War or Peace

The Polisario Front is very angry with the former UN Secretary-General. Last month Perez de Cuellar was appointed vice-chairman of the French trade consortium Optorg, which is controlled by the Moroccan royal family. The Polisario Front saw this as "thanks for services rendered."

"In March, the United Nations has to decide how it will proceed with the current peace plan," says Mansour. "Butrus Butrus-Ghali has very few options. He can either give a clear mandate to the Security Council to implement the peace plan in full, or he can organize a referendum based on Perez de Cuellar's interpretation, which we would find unacceptable. Or he could adopt a completely new approach, which is also out of the question in our view.untries, so why should the United Nations not admit us as a member?" However, says Mansour, "this is an option that Butrus-Ghali is even unaware of."

The Polisario Front spokesman also cannot understand Europe's apathy to the entire issue. Most EC countries, including France and Belgium, continue to support King Hassan II of Morocco in spite of everything. "We interpret the new world order entirely differently," says Mansour. "We believe that it must be based on respect for democracy, human rights, and citizens' rights." Mansour thinks that Western Sahara is "at the crossroads between war and peace," claiming that "if the United Nations fails, we have no choice but to continue war."

This may be easier said than done. The Polisario Front's major ally, Algeria, is deep in crisis, gradually sliding toward all-out civil war with the FIS (Islamic Salvation Front) fundamentalists. Mansour flatly rejects this notion. "Algeria's position on this matter has not changed at all. True, Algeria has always played a major role, but our attitude has not changed. The Sahrawis have always relied on their own forces and resources in their fight. We will continue to do so in the future. We fought against Spanish colonization for 50 years, with never any question of support from Algeria."

Saudi Arabia

King Fahd To Sponsor 300 Bosnian Muslim Families

LD0303141393 Riyadh SPA in English 1249 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Riyadh, March 3, SPA—Custodian of the two holy mosques King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz has directed the higher commission for collection of donations for the Muslims of Bosnia-Hercegovina to support and sponsor 300 Muslim families, expelled from Bosnia-Hercegovina, as agreed upon with the federation of organizations in the state of Minnesota in the U.S., at his own expense. This project wil cost SR 2.025 million.

Prince Salman Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz, the governor of Riyadh Region, said this generous initiative of King Fahd comes in line with his constant efforts to help the Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina, who have been subjected to suppression and a war of genocide by the Serbs.

Prince Salman urged the citizens and residents to extend support to the their brethren in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Increase in Export of Processing Industries' Products

LD0303221893 Riyadh Saudi Arabian Television Network in Arabic 2000 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Excerpt] The Kingdom's export of the processing industries' products for the year 1992 reached 3.519 billion Saudi riyals, thus achieving an increase of 15 percent compared to the exports of 1991 which amounted to 3.050 billion Saudi riyals. Saudi exports of the processing industries have reached 88 countries, excluding the petrochemical products, fertilizers, and petroleum products, said Industry and Electricity Minister 'Abd-al-'Aziz Bin-'Abdallah al-Zamil. [passage omitted]

King Chairs Council of Ministers' Session 1 Mar

LD0303223293 Riyadh Saudi Arabian Kingdom Radio Network in Arabic 2230 GMT 1 Mar 93

[Excerpt] King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz Al-Sa'ud, custodian of the two holy mosques, chaired the Council of Ministers session held on 1 March in Yamama palace in Riyadh. After the session, his excellency the Information Minister Ali al-Sha'ir made a statement to SPA, in which he said:

The council reviewed at the beginning of today's session a summary of reports presented to his majesty the king on the most important events of the hour on the Arab and Islamic spheres. The council reviewed the state of affairs concerning the issues of the region in the light of the efforts exerted towards achieving peace.

In this framework, the custodian of the two holy mosques clarified to the council some of the new political developments on that sphere, pointing out, God protect him, to the contributions of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in terms of continuous efforts on the Arab and international fronts to achieve a just and comprehensive peace in the middle east region based on security council resolutions 242 and 338, which are considered the best solution that must be implemented as a step on the right path [khutwah 'ala al-tariq al-salim].

The minister of information further said: On the other hand, the council continued its interests in the state of affairs of Afghanistan, expressing his extreme regret on the continuation of the haphazard shelling of Kabul despite the repeated calls to stop the fighting and resort to negotiations to settle matters in the interest of the Moslem Afghan people and to preserve the gains for which it has greatly sacrificed for the sake of independence.

The council continued following up the events in Somalia and Bosnia-Hercegovina and reviewed the international and Islamic efforts exerted in that direction. [passage omitted]

'Minutes' of Saddam's 1990 Meeting With PFLP's Habash

JN0303213893

[Editorial Report] Baghdad INA in Arabic, between 1418 and 1745 GMT on 3 March, carries the approximately 3,500-word "text" of the minutes of the 2 September 1990 meeting between Iraqi President Saddam Husayn and George Habash, secretary general of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). INA carries the following introductory passage: "The immortal Mother of Battles, the great battle with the imperialist and Zionist forces, represents, among other things, the Arab nation's uprising in the face of the Zionist aggression and colonization of the Arab land. This affirms that beloved Palestine constituted the core of this battle, and that one of the major reasons that incited the colonialists and Zionists against Iraq's strength, as well as the Iraqi victory over Iranian ambitions, was the feeling that the Zionist objectives and entity were in danger, a conclusion that they have reached as a result of their analysis of Iraq's principled and political stands on the Palestine question.

"The documents of the immortal Mother of Battles, which we are publishing in a series, affirm this fact quite clearly."

President Saddam Husayn begins his remarks by discussing the effects of international developments on inter-Arab relations, saying that matters have become more complicated for "strugglers." He says that the socialist bloc turned into regimes rather than revolutions, something which made their support unreliable. Thus, Saddam explains, "the world has become open before America and its aggressiveness." He adds: "Through its behavior and aggressiveness, America wants to intimidate all Third World countries and tell other countries outside the Third World that they should accept the status quo in which that the United States issues orders for others to obey. Therefore, the battle is not only a national and pan-Arab one, but it is also a human one, in terms of its general results. This is because much of that which is related to the future of humanity depends on the results of this battle. The question is whether the United States will be in control of the situation or whether its role will recede. I am confident that it will emerge from this battle with a receding role." Saddam then explains that such a battle will draw world sympathy with Iraq because it is a small nation defying big powers.

At this point, George Habash explains that he came to Baghdad to voice support for Iraq. He notes that Iraq's strength is based on its strong Army, vast oil reserves, and the "masses' weapon." In reply, Saddam Husayn asserts that the basis of Iraq's strength is "our confidence in the people," who remained loyal to the leadership throughout the eight-year war with Iran. Afterward, Saddam explains that the "conspiracy" against Iraq began after the end of the war with Iran, recalling the charges that were raised against Iraq with respect to chemical weapons, the British journalist Pazoft, the so-called supergun, capacitors, and other issues. He also reviews the slogans raised by Iraq's leadership during Arab summit meetings held in 1990.

Reviewing the overall Arab situation, Saddam Husayn says that instead of becoming a factor of strength, Arab oil has became a factor of weakness. This is because several Arab oil-producing countries compromised their sovereignty and independence when they relied on foreign powers for protection. Add to this the belief that the discovery of oil in certain Arab countries widened the gap between poor and rich Arab countries. In this regard, Saddam explains: "Therefore, if this state of affairs continues unresolved, Arab peace and security, as well as Arab brotherhood, cannot be guaranteed. Thus, our slogans call for restoring balance to the handling of Arab wealth and for heading to liberate Palestine."

In anticipation of the war he sees coming, Saddam Husayn says: "America will hurt us. However, in conclusion, we will hurt it and defeat its goals. Therefore, America will be defeated. For it to win the war, it should achieve the following:

"—It should dislodge the regime.

"—It should crush the army.

"—It should crush the economy.

"—It should crush the present and lock the doors to the future."

Saddam explains: "If America fails to achieve these objectives together, it will not technically be considered the winner. If it achieves them, it cannot be considered a winner from a humanitarian point of view. However, it is sufficient for us to hold fast to win the battle. If we manage to prevent America from achieving all its objectives, we will have won. If America is engaged in a military aggression against Iraq and fails to achieve these objectives, it will lose a great deal. Afterward, it will not be able to issue orders from Washington to other states and expect them to submit. As for Israel, it will become weaker after the failure of the U.S. experience of aggression against Iraq."

At the conclusion of the minutes, Saddam Husayn approves a request by the PFLP to open an office in Baghdad.

Arab League Chief Statement 'Lacks Objectivity'

JN2602125793 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1220 GMT 26 Feb 93

[Text] Baghdad, 26 Feb (INA)—Reacting to the statement issued by Arab League Secretary General Dr. 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid yesterday, Thursday, a Foreign Ministry spokesman has made the following statement to INA:

We regret very much the part of the statement concerning Iraq. The secretary general's statement lacks objectivity and balance, and it reflects a clear bias with regard to the events and incidents.

The statement asserted: The responsibility shouldered by the Arab League secretary general dictates that he should be free of bias. We are certain that the language of the statement issued by 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, and certain falsehoods contained therein, do not reflect the views of the majority of Arab states, but of a limited number of states which everyone knows.

Opposition Claims Regime Arming Tribes in South

PM0303161693 London AL-WASAT in Arabic 1-7 Mar 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "From Our Sources"]

[Text] Iraqi opposition sources have revealed that the Iraqi regime has armed 3,000 people from the tribes loyal to it in the southern villages in order to act on its behalf in suppressing any uprising that could take place in the future. And that clashes occurred recently among the southern tribes based in the marshlands, some of which are loyal to the regime while others sympathize with the opposition.

Saddam Addresses al-Basrah Tribal Chieftains

JN0303133793 Baghdad Republic of Iraq Radio Network in Arabic 1200 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Speech by President Saddam Husayn delivered when receiving tribal chiefs from al-Basrah Governorate; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] As long as Iraq continues to survive, as long as you are alive, and as long as faith remains embedded in the heart, all that happens to us will be to our advantage, God willing. May God salute the population of al-Basrah, the city of cities. God willing, it will always remain a banner and lofty beacon in Iraq's history in the course of its efforts to forge glories.

It goes without saying that each of you, brothers, is carrying with him the requests and demands of his kinfolk and brothers who reside in the area from which he is coming. I am certain that all your requests and demands continue to be less than what we wish for you in terms of our ambitions and the course being pursued by the revolution, which is well known to you. We always wish you all that would realize pride for you and facilitate the mission of your powerful and great faith, God willing. We are endeavoring to see our people in good shape, having access to all life's requirements, beginning from the basic requirements to the more sophisticated requirements, God willing.

As I told other brothers I met previously, God willing, we will be honest guardians of the country's wealth. God willing, we will use it properly. Its proper use is to serve the people who are working, who are managing their affairs and working the land, and before anything else who are worshipping God with all their hearts.

So, you are raising the problems being faced by the areas where you live and also by the tribes you represent or the kinfolk who hope that you will raise their problems when you reach this place. The Iraqis, God willing, have all become a single tribe and a single family. God willing, they will always drink from a single cup, while enjoying peace, and derive pride from their country and their capabilities.

I would like to say the following: The capabilities at our disposal are yours. God willing, they will be properly used. [applause] We will do whatever we can in this regard. But the things which we cannot do because of the current circumstances, well, you are aware of these circumstances. May God grant you long life. May He also strengthen your capabilities, bolster your potentials, and realize for you all that you wish which is good, God willing.

Defense Minister Visits al-Basrah Party Branches

JN0303202393 Baghdad Republic of Iraq Radio Network in Arabic 1900 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Fighter Staff General 'Ali Hasan al-Majid, member of the Revolution Command Council and defense minister, today visited the command of the al-Basrah military branch of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party. During his meeting with the comrade secretary and members of the branch, the fighter defense minister affirmed the need for interaction between creative party action and daily military activity in order to stimulate the fighters' energies. He also stressed that during field visits, observations should be recorded so that reassessments can be made and positive observations can be bolstered.

The fighter defense minister called on the comrades in the party organization to continue education courses on the aims of training and its importance in stimulating fighters. He indicated that training is an educational and moral activity, and one of the fighters' natural rights. He stressed the importance of equal assessment, given that it is a humanitarian and national duty.

Fighter Staff General 'Ali Hasan al-Majid listened to a detailed briefing on the activities of comrades in the military party organization of the al-Qadisiyah and al-Basrah military and naval units. The briefing was made by the branch's comrade secretary and members.

In another development, fighter Staff General 'Ali Hasan al-Majid, accompanied by al-Basrah Governor Latif Mahal Humud, today visited the command of the al-Basrah branch of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party. The fighter defense minister urged the comrades to engage in further creative activity to boost party action. He also stressed the need to avoid appeasement so that they would effectively and soundly contribute to the building of the new Iraqi individual, who proved that he is qualified for the historic responsibility of defending great Iraq and the glorious Arab nation.

Talabani Says Kurd Relations With Syria 'Normal'

NC0303190493 (Clandestine) Voice of the People of Kurdistan in Arabic 1605 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Brother Jalal Talabani, secretary general of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, said relations between the Kurdistan Front and Syria have returned to normal. In a statement to AFP, he said the misunderstanding which had arisen over the parliamentary elections held in Iraqi Kurdistan in May 1992, has been resolved. He said he discussed ways to develop relations between the Kurdistan Front and Syria with Syrian officials, indicating that he explained the current situation in Iraqi Kurdistan and found the Syrian officials understanding.

Talabani also said that the Kurdistan Front's relations with the democratic national current in the Iraqi opposition have improved and that a delegation from the democratic national current will visit Iraqi Kurdistan to discuss ways to unify the Iraqi opposition.

Oil Minister on Planned Return to Market

JN0303190993 Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 1 Mar 93 pp 1, 2

[By Salah al-'Abd]

[Text] Baghdad—Oil Minister Usamah 'Abd-al-Razzaq al-Hiti has announced Iraq's readiness to resume oil exports when circumstances are appropriate. In a press conference held at the Ministry of Oil yesterday, attended by local radio, newspaper, and Iraqi News Agency correspondents to mark the 20th anniversary of the triumph of the immortal nationalization decision, al-Hiti asserted that this decision had positive ramifications on the region and defined the relationship between oil producers and consumers in the world so that oil consuming states have to think twice before dealing with oil producers.

The oil minister pointed out that Iraq will always wield great weight on the world oil market and that the future will be a witness to this by virtue of the transactions which will be made between oil producers and consumers. He explained that Iraq's consistent oil policy is one of the factors that attracted the consumers who used to import Iraqi crude oil. These consumers have not changed their stand, despite the economic blockade imposed on Iraq, and have frequently expressed their readiness to import Iraqi oil when an agreement is reached with the United Nations and when Iraqi oil returns to the world market, especially since this oil is very important for the world market and is a major factor that clearly influences the market's stability.

Al-Hiti added that the current tremors in the oil market are due to Iraq's absence from it. No doubt, these tremors do not serve the consumers who have no interest in Iraq's continued absence from the world oil market. He said that Iraq's contacts with foreign consumers and companies are still continuing, and have not stopped at all despite attempts by some parties to sign long-term contracts with these consumers.

Asked about Iraq's stand on the February 1993 agreement concluded by OPEC's Market Monitoring Committee during its 10th meeting in Vienna, al-Hiti said that Iraq is not a party to this agreement which set production quotas for OPEC member states, and he added that Iraq only recognizes the 1990 Geneva agreement, which was concluded under normal circumstances without outside pressures, contrary to what happened in the latest agreement where the whims and suspect intentions of Saudi Arabia and certain Gulf states played a major role in its conclusion. This agreement did not represent real interests, which prompted Iraq not to participate on a ministerial level in that meeting. Iraq dispatched a delegation led by the Iraqi ambassador in Vienna to represent Iraq in that meeting so this would be a message to the participants confirming that Iraq did not recognize the meeting nor its results, especially since Iraq is a founding member of OPEC and is very much concerned with the interest of its members.

Al-Hiti pointed out that the results of this meeting are negative and merely touch on defining a production ceiling without discussing the issue of raising oil prices, which is one of the important topics in the interest of oil producers. He added that Iraq will play a major role in correcting all the OPEC states' incorrect approaches and measures when it resumes oil exports in a way that will prevent a collapse in oil prices and keep OPEC production at its current level. The oil minister added that conspiracies were concocted by the colonialist and imperialist states against Iraq as a result of Iraq's nationalist and progressive stands and its endeavors to utilize its national resources, including oil, for development purposes and for serving world liberation movements, particularly in Third World states. This has evoked a profound grudge against Iraq, particularly after the colonialist and imperialist states lost the nationalization issue to Iraq. Iraq emerged from the nationalization victorious despite all attempts by these states, which are continuing their aggression against this country to foil the nationalization decision 20 years after it was made. However, Iraq's leadership, under President leader Saddam Husayn, may God preserve him, is capable of confronting all forms of aggression by insisting on construction and the training of specialized national cadres, who are fully prepared to abide by the leadership's instructions and reconstruct the oil installations which were subjected to that aggression.

Amal, Hizballah Said To Clash Over Katyusha Attacks

TA0303183993 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1700 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Clashes between Amal and Hizballah supporters have taken place in the past few days in several villages north of south Lebanon's security zone, against the backdrop of katyushas fired at the Galilee. Amal demands that the katyusha attacks cease, because they do not help achieve the goal of evicting the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] from south Lebanon, and they merely provoke harsh IDF and SLA [South Lebanese Army] retaliation.

Our correspondent Yo'av Aviv adds that Shaykh 'Ali Amin, one of Amal's spiritual leaders, today condemned the 1 March attack on a UN unit south of Tyre.

Hizballah 'Terrorist' Killed by SLA in South Lebanon

TA0303132593 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1300 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] A terrorist affiliated with Hizballah was killed in a clash between the South Lebanese Army [SLA] and terrorists in the 'Aramtah area in the northern security zone. Our correspondent Yo'av Aviv reports that an SLA patrol spotted the terrorists and opened small-arms fire. One terrorist was killed while the others escaped. The incident was followed by exchanges of fire which lasted approximately 30 minutes.

No Change in Security Procedures Despite Attacks

TA0403104093 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 4 Mar 93 p 1

[Report by Pe'erli Shahar]

[Excerpt] The policy of the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] and the security forces in the territories will not be changed in the wake of the wave of attacks and murders, it was decided yesterday in consultations Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin held with the top political-defense echelon.

Nevertheless, stress was placed on the need to implement fully existing guidelines, which provide an adequate response to the current situation. Political sources reported that, if the directives had been fully implemented, the Gazan who murdered two and wounded nine in Tel Aviv's Elat Street would not have managed to get through the Gaza checkpoint, since his entry permit to Israel had expired. "The procedures must be carried out to the smallest detail, and there must not be a lackadaisical approach," the source added.

It was decided in the deliberations that the government will hold a debate on the demand for a unilateral withdrawal from Gaza, but Rabin does not seem to favor holding a vote on the issue. [passage omitted]

House Sealed in Ibnah Camp Following 2 Mar Attack

TA0403055493 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0500 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Last night security forces sealed the home of two brothers who participated in the murder of Yehoshu'a Weissbrod in the Ibnah refugee camp in Rafah. The two, age 16 and 17, were among the mob leaders who incited the stoning of Weissbrod, which seriously wounded him before he was shot by terrorists. A senior IDF [Israel Defense Forces] officer reported that the two admitted participating in the murder. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, the closure imposed on the Gaza Strip continues.

Chief of Staff on Intifadah, Golan, Iran

TA0303204293 Jerusalem Israel Television Network in Hebrew 1940 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Interview with Lieutenant General Ehud Baraq, chief of General Staff, by Yoram Ronen, military correspondent Beni Liss, and HA'ARETZ military correspondent Ze'ev Schiff; on the weekly "Moqed" program—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Schiff] Mr. Chief of Staff, former Defense Minister Moshe Arens said he believed Israel should withdraw from the Gaza Strip unilaterally. This opinion is being voiced these days, too. I realize this question spills into politics and into the sphere of the political echelons' responsibility, but I would like to ask you to tell us—purely from the point of view of security—whether such unilateral withdrawal will solve our security problems or give rise to much more serious security problems.

[Baraq] The IDF [Israel Defense Forces] does not outline policies; it merely carries them out. Indeed, the sphere to which you have alluded plainly lies within the bounds of the Israeli Government's responsibility. I think there are many reasons why it would be wrong for me to discuss the professional, the security ramifications of the various options here and now, in front of cameras.

[Schiff] Do you reject it?

[Baraq] I do not want to voice a stand. I think it would be a mistake on my part to take any stand. The IDF has to provide maximum possible security in any given political circumstances which ensue from the decisions of Israel's elected government.

[Liss] What do you think will happen if the political echelons task the IDF with withdrawing from Gaza?

[Baraq] The IDF will be able to cope with any decision made by the Government of Israel. What I say is we should not put the cart before the horse. Any such step would have extensive ramifications, and things should be dealt with in appropriate order. The Government of Israel is the body that formulates directions and policies. The IDF supplies its professional opinion when requested by the government, not by television, and carries out everything deriving from government decisions.

[Ronen] To conclude this chapter, Mr. Chief of Staff, what can you say about the latest instruction issued by the Judaea and Samaria inhabitants that fire should be opened in the event of any terrorist event, including stone throwing? Do you think it is an adverse attitude that should be combated?

[Baraq] The conditions in which a citizen may open fire are very clear and have been defined by the law. No citizen may put himself above the law or act outside the law. The law permits the use of firearms when life is in jeopardy, for self-defense, but only in these cases—and the Israeli residents of Judaea and Samaria are aware of that.

[Schiff] Perhaps I could ask something else about engagement rules. It is well known that terrorists would like to increase the number of innocent victims, both on our and their side. Recently, however, we have heard the charge that, hunting for fugitives, the IDF often uses antitank weapons, harming people who are not connected with the fugitives and wrecking many houses. What can you tell us about this?

[Baraq] We adapt out activities to the operational methods of fugitives and terrorists with whom we have to contend. There has been a very significant rise in the use of firearms by fugitives and the incidence of armed resistance during arrest. To prevent the recurrence of incidents in which security personnel are killed while entering houses harboring terrorists, we empty the houses of all civilians, and then, instead of sending our men in, we send a few RPG's [rocket-propelled grenade] or LAW's, which are light antitank weapons, into the houses, in a bid to smoke them out. I have to remind you that our men have been killed in this kind of activity. In my opinion, no terrorists have been injured by this antitank fire. Property was indeed damaged, and on our initiative, the Civil Administration approached and compensated people whose property had been damaged and whose houses, as we learned after the fact, had harbored no wanted men.

I would like to point out that we believe this operational method has contributed both to a decrease in our casualties and to rising difficulties encountered by wanted men seeking asylum in the homes of innocent civilians.

[Ronen] With your permission, Chief of Staff, let us now address the Golan Heights issue. The remarks of Major General Amnon Shahaq, the deputy chief of staff, made a lot of noise last week, but I think one question he was asked by an American reporter was legitimate. He was asked: If a full peace accord is signed between us and Syria, will the evacuation of the Golan Heights, or parts of the Golan Heights, pose any danger to security?

[Schiff] Peace accord and appropriate security arrangements.

[Baraq] Maj. Gen. Amnon Shahaq is one of the best officers the IDF has had, past or present. He is my deputy, and I trust him implicitly. I have read the full transcript of his remarks, and it was evident to me that what he said was much less dramatic than the way the media presented it. He was in fact providing a hypothetical answer to a hypothetical question.

[Ronen] What is your answer to the hypothetical question?

[Baraq] I do not like giving hypothetical answers to hypothetical questions, but I will remind all of us that we took the Golan Heights in a war forced on us by Arab aggression. The Golan Heights has a supreme strategic importance for Israel's defense. As long as war initiated by Syria is a feasible possibility, we need the entire Golan Heights, period. In other situations, if the nature of relations changes—which is what your question implied—a different approach may be embraced. However, a different approach has to begin with resolutions endorsed by the Government of Israel and followed by Army operation. This sequence of action should not be reversed.

Furthermore, since, nothing we say remains exclusively local knowledge, any attempt to specify possible components of even hypothetical flexibilities concerning security on the Golan Heights is liable to make them the starting point of our talks with Syria. In this sense, any speculation would be detrimental to Israel's capability to conduct negotiations, and I do not think I will do well to address them in detail in these circumstances.

[Schiff] Still, generally speaking and referring to the security aspect only, what are the main issues with regard to security arrangements on which you advise Israel to insist? Demilitarization, for instance. And what else?

[Baraq] Ze'ev, we all know how these things tend to develop. Any attempt on our part to specify now, at this preliminary stage of political negotiations between us and Syria, with Syria demanding full withdrawal and us saying we want full peace with everything it implies, and seeing that we have not even started negotiating with Syria on the meaning of full peace and, naturally, not on withdrawal—at this stage, any talk about the components of security will invite an immediate negative Syrian reply, which will later bind them. Therefore, I see this as detrimental talk that should be avoided.

[Schiff] But you do have a plan, you are preparing for various possible withdrawal lines?

[Baraq] I already said on one occasion that the IDF does not have a plan. The entire issue has not matured in the sense that it must ripen before we can sink our teeth into it. At this stage, it is imperative that we wait patiently to see how the Syrians perceive the issue and how the talks develop. This entire issue plainly lies within the responsibility of the Israeli Government, not the Army.

[Ronen] Several months have elapsed since you said the plan was unripe. Are you saying the situation is less ripe than it was several months ago?

[Baraq] I did not say the plan was unripe, I said there was no plan. The IDF does not work on plans prematurely. I said the whole issue was unripe in the sense that it was not worthy of our sinking our teeth into it. When it ripens—if it does—and anything can happen, the IDF will certainly know where the Golan Heights is, it will be acquainted with the place, and will be able to address fast enough any question asked by the Israeli Government—if and when it is asked.

[Liss] Judging by the political echelons' remarks, peace is not far away. I will ask it in reverse: Then how come the IDF has no plans? Why has it not devised various scenarios in case it is asked by the political echelons?

[Baraq] We have sat for 25 years on the Golan Heights; we are perfectly well acquainted with it. As operational depth, it has paramount importance for the defense of Israel; it is extremely important as a location for our warning installations vis-a-vis Syria as long as war with Syria remains a concrete possibility; and it has paramount importance as a launching site for counterattacks against Syria if a war is forced on us. I believe our intimate acquaintance with the Golan Heights enables us to respond swiftly to any demand by the Government of Israel for opinions on possibilities—if any such demand is made, and I do not know that they will be.

[Schiff] Gen. Baraq, the current impression is that the short-term threats to Israel have diminished due to what happened to Iraq, the peace process, and the collapse of the USSR. I would like to ask you: What is expected to take place in the future with Syria, and mainly with Iran, which, according to rumors, might obtain nuclear arms while cooperating with Syria. What is happening with regard to these threats? Are they considered future threats to our existence?

[Baraq] Indeed, from an overall strategic point of view, our situation for the coming years is good. The reality you described allows us to address immediate threats in a more convenient manner than we used to in the past—due to both the general background and the military situation. Nevertheless, the future does have several types of threats in store. The main danger is of nonconventional arms, mainly nuclear, obtained by Arab countries or Iran. We could be threatened from two directions: One is Saddam Husayn, who has outlived Gorbachev, Thatcher, and Bush. He is still there, after an international coalition stood against him and launched a practical operation which resulted in the defeat of his Army. Currently, he is being very tightly supervised by the UN inspection teams, but to the best of our understanding, the day the last supervisory team leaves Iraq, the countdown will resume for the renewal of his nonconventional capability. Iraq can attain chemical capability within a year, and we believe that—since no one can erase the know-how stored in his experts' brains—they can have a simple nuclear installation in four to five years.

The possibility that he could attain nuclear capability within a few years after supervision is removed might serve as a very grave example. It would not only be a threat to the flow of oil from the Persian Gulf or to the more moderate regimes around him, but could also serve as a model for potential dictators worldwide. He might serve as a living example of the failure of the international community to impose a world order in which the free world is able to defeat a local dictator. The possibility that Saddam might turn out to be a nuclear phoenix after he had been defeated is a main source of concern for the entire Middle East and naturally for us. We expect the inspections to continue.

The other threat, Iran, is starting from further back. If it does not take shortcuts such as importing scientists and ready-made substances from other places such as the republics of the former USSR, it will need some 10 years. There, as well, we are dealing with a tough and talented people that can do it in 10 years. Today is perhaps the last opportunity for the world to clearly come together and present Iran with a series of preconditions for its introduction to the family of nations, at least in terms of foreign relations.

[Ronen] Can we have any influence over this?

[Baraq] We can present the threat, make it clear to our friends around the world. I believe that we are well understood. The issue is understood in the United State and Britain, and Europe and Japan will understand it eventually, I believe. There are some very serious threats there in terms of nuclear capability, exporting the Muslim fundamentalist revolution, and state-sponsored terror. Also, I wish to remind you that the Iranians are in charge of the issue of hostages. We believe they are also responsible for the fate of Ron Arad.

[Schiff] Where does Syria stand with regard to all this?

[Baraq] Syria is equipping itself with conventional weapons from every possible source, buying arms at sale prices on the former East European markets. They buy upgraded tanks, artillery batteries, aircraft systems, and are interested in the purchase of the SA-10, the Russian equivalent of the Patriot. At the same time, they have not dropped the strategic issue, mainly missiles. We know that after they imported several dozen Scud-C missiles, they are preparing a production line of Scud-C missiles in Syria with North Korean aid. We believe that within 12 to 18 months, Syria will be able to begin fully producing Scud-C missiles in Syria. Allow me to remind you that such a missile, carrying a 700 to 800 kg warhead, with a level of precision of the Scud we are familiar with, can cover the entire territory of Israel. This is quite disturbing. On the other hand, we should keep in mind that at the same time, Syria is engaged in direct and unconditional negotiations over political arrangements with us.

[Ronen] We should hope that we reach some sort of an agreement of near-peace with Syria within those 12 to 18 months.

[Baraq] I would not like to scare ourselves. I believe that the Syrians are aware of our conventional, and to some degree even strategic, edge over them. I would even be careful with regard to Iran as well. I would not like to place Iran and Israel at the polar ends of a war to the bitter end, practically or symbolically. The Syrian military buildup is mainly directed against us, but they are sitting at the negotiating table with us, nevertheless. The Syrian leadership has been speaking to the Syrian population on official propaganda channels in different tones than those we knew in the past. It is a little more moderate, speaking about the possibility of the struggle against Israel moving from the military arena to the political one; at the same time, it is buying weapons.

The same applies to Iran. Iran would have continued its military buildup even if the State of Israel did not exist in the region. It is doing this for its own strategic interests. It has been a regional superpower since the beginning of time.

[Ronen] This is still somewhat connected with the Syrian issue: Is it our policy not to retaliate too harshly to the Hizballah katyusha attack on our northern settlements so as not to cause an escalation which might harm the peace talks?

[Baraq] The reality in the northern settlements is very complex. Our operations against Hizballah have been very effective. Over the past two weeks, Hizballah and other organizations lost some 10 to 12 of their men in clashes with the IDF. Attacks on the SLA [South Lebanese Army] have failed. They were severely beaten. Over the weekend, they responded with katyushas which, luckily, caused no casualties. We will not allow a situation in which our side of the border is not quiet while the other side is. Hizballah, however, is being backed up. The Lebanese Government and other elements are turning a blind eye to their operations. A Hizballah man was killed today. He was wearing a Lebanese Army uniform, apparently to facilitate his passage through roadblocks.

[Liss] Still, the feeling is that the IDF is not responding. Hizballah moved from being a terror organization to being an army: Yesterday it fired tanks; it has been using Saggers, RPG's, mortars; it has lookout posts and radio equipment. It is organized in a near military structure. Why is it not treated as a military organization that should be defeated. It has been a long time since we last heard of an incident in which 60 katyushas were fired at the Galilee and the IDF reacted with sporadic shooting.

[Baraq] Hizballah is trying its best to operate against the security zone, and we are operating at sea, in the air, and on land against it, and we will do so the future. I believe that, despite the fact that they seem like an army, they have suffered serious blows. Because of the complexity of the situation—not only the peace process, but also the situation in our settlements—I believe it is better if we keep the dosage, time, and mode of retaliation to ourselves. I would rather make operational decision each time anew, using no formulas.

[Schiff] Mr. Chief of Staff, two and a half months after the deportation of the Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] men, we were forced to return 100 deportees. There are other prices to pay; for example, the Palestinians may be paid something for the deportation; the peace process has and is being delayed to some extent; this could be the end of using this means. In hindsight, was the use of mass deportation a mistake?

[Baraq] I believe that a country fighting terror in general, and groups such as Hamas and the Islamic Jihad in particular, owes it to itself and its citizens to take every possible means allowed by the law and the moral values of the society it is elected from to secure an effective struggle against terror. The chain of the very grave attacks that preceded the deportations, during which six security personnel were killed in one week—after 24 of our men were killed throughout the entire intifadah—called for a blow which I believe was delivered.

[Liss] We may not be able to use it again.

[Baraq] I do not know. I see no reason for us to give up on an effective tool. Yet, Israel's policy has always been that a deportation is an irregular move not to be taken every other day, not even with individuals. Obviously, the scope of the operation was irregular as well. But, allow me to remind you of what has happened since then: The move passed the test of the Supreme Court; it did not lead to UN Security Council sanctions against us; it allowed, for a certain price of a compromise, which I would not call caving in....

[Schiff, interrupts] But the murders continue.

[Baraq] They continue at a much lower rate. Just imagine the momentum they could have received had the Israeli Government and the security forces not reacted to that chain of events in such a way. I believe that, when we discuss the issue in the context of all the means we have at our disposal, after the great obstacles we still need to overcome, it is essential that the local Arabs and all the observers understand that the Israeli Government will not be deterred from taking any means it can. I believe that eventually it will be interpreted as a correct move for its time. [passage omitted]

Arab MK Says Rabin Accepts Christopher's Plan

TA0303142193 Jerusalem AL-FAJR in Arabic
3 Mar 93 pp 1, 11

[Text] Nazareth—Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin met yesterday with Knesset member [MK] 'Abd-al-Wahab Darawshah, leader of the Arab Democratic

Party. They discussed the political situation in the region and the peace process. At the end of the meeting, Darawshah expressed optimism at the possibility of overcoming the obstacles to the peace process, reaching a solution to the issue of the Palestinian deportees, and renewing the negotiations with the participation of all the parties to the conflict in the region.

The leader of the Arab Democratic Party said that during the meeting Rabin declared his acceptance of the six-point proposal presented by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher for solving the deportee issue and advancing the peace process.

Darawshah had met yesterday morning with Faysal al-Husayni, head of the Palestinian team to the peace talks, and discussed with him the peace process, the deportee issue, and developments in the occupied territories.

During the meeting, al-Husayni affirmed the Palestinian position calling for repatriating all the Palestinian deportees and ending repressive and punitive measures by the occupation authorities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

U.S. Said 'Tough' Toward Palestinians on Talks

TA0303125893 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 3 Mar 93 p 1

[Report by Hemi Shalev]

[Text] The United States is evincing a tough stance toward the Palestinians, hoping to convince them to return to the negotiating table. At the same time it is conducting a dialogue with Damascus to ascertain that Syria's answer to the invitation to the peace talks will also be positive.

A report sent by the Israeli Embassy in Washington to Jerusalem indicates that the U.S. Administration is postponing issuance of the invitations, hoping that the Palestinians will finally understand they will not achieve additional concessions in return for agreeing to attend the talks.

U.S. Administration officials reported that hopefully a PLO delegation slated to visit Moscow next week will hear the same things which the Palestinian representatives in Jerusalem heard from Secretary of State Christopher. The Americans reiterate that if the Palestinians refuse to attend the talks they could find themselves stranded behind the peace process.

Sergey Krylov, director general of the Russian Foreign Ministry, who is currently visiting Israel, yesterday told Deputy Foreign Minister Yosi Beilin that Moscow wants to enhance the dialogue with Israel both in relation to the bilateral and multilateral peace talks. He also stated that Russia agrees to serve as an "intermediary" between Israel and the Arabs.

Sources in Jerusalem assess that the United States will pursue the contacts with the Arabs almost up to Prime Minister Rabin's visit to the United States in approximately two weeks. It is believed, at the same time, that the U.S. Administration wants to issue the invitations prior to Rabin's arrival. The report also indicates that the White House apparently intends to devote a large part of the three-hour meeting scheduled between Rabin and President Clinton to the substantive issues relating to the negotiations. The United States hopes that after the negotiations resume in April the talks will proceed at a quicker pace than before.

Foreign Minister Peres yesterday met the foreign ambassadors serving in Israel. He told them that Christopher received the impression Syria is very eager to return to the negotiating table.

Rabin Says 1993 To Be 'Crossroads' in Peace Talks

TA0403115793 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1100 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Excerpts] During a tour of the 'Arava today, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin reiterated that he believes 1993 will constitute a crossroads. This is the year we will find out in which direction the peace negotiations are moving, Rabin said. Moti Gadish, our correspondent in the south, accompanied the prime minister on his tour.

[Begin recording] [Gadish] [passage omitted] At the Sapir community center, the prime minister talked with high school students from settlements in the region who asked him about the peace talks. The prime minister said political achievements can be expected in 1993.

[Rabin] I believe that 1993, in certain respects, will constitute a turning point that will indicate in which direction the peace talks are moving. When I say peace negotiations, I do not mean that we can reach a breakthrough with all the Arab partners; I am referring to a breakthrough in at least one area.

[Gadish] The 'Arava youth wanted to know what future the prime minister forecasts for the region. Rabin said they cannot expect industrial developments in the 'Arava.

[Rabin] Some of you are probably pleased that the VOA station project was canceled, but it is obvious that, from the economic point of view, the 'Arava lost a significant investment. [end recording]

Missile Radar System Information To Be Withheld

TA0303145493 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 3 Mar 93 p 9

[By Sharon Sade]

[Text] Israel will not relay information pertaining to the development of the Arrow's fire-control radar to the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization, which finances the missile development project. A senior defense establishment figure has said that as the financial backers the United States is given all the information pertaining to the missile itself but that the development of the radar system, which is supposed to detect hostile missiles and to guide Arrow missiles to them, is fully financed by the Defense Ministry. Therefore, no technical information about it will be given away.

The Defense Ministry allocation for the radar project stands at approximately $100 million. The project is due to be concluded within three years, and the estimated price of a radar unit is to be about $20 to 30 million.

The radar, dubbed the "Music Radar," is based on the Falcon, the Israel Aircraft Industries' [IAI] detection radar system.

The United States has announced in official publications that at this point, it does not plan on purchasing Arrow missiles. As for the radar development, it has been reported that the United States is developing a different kind of radar, based on shorter wavelengths than those of the Arrow's radar, and therefore do not need the Israeli development. The U.S. radars, which cost ten times more than those of the Arrow, are more suitable for the antimissile missile systems currently developed in the United States because these missiles require more precise guidance to their targets.

Simultaneous with the missile development, the IAI's Systems Engineering and Components plant, in which the Arrow project is carried out, is completing the development of a missile-launching vehicle. The Arrow battery is supposed to be mobile, and each launching position will be composed of a cluster of six missiles, which will be moved from place to place aboard a towing truck.

The present Arrow missile is about 7 meters long and weighs some 3.5 tonnes, but in its final two-phase version, which will be completed by the end of the year, the Arrow is supposed to shrink to a length of 5 meters and a weight of about 2 tonnes.

Paper Claims Saddam Target of Ze'elim Exercise

TA0403095393 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 4 Mar 93 p A1

[Report by Ori Nir in Washington]

[Text] According to the English-language Middle East daily MIDDLE EAST MIRROR, published in London, the Ze'elim exercise held on 5 November 1992, in which five soldiers from an elite unit were killed and another six were wounded, was meant to practice the assassination of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn and not a Hizballah leader in Lebanon, as was reported by the foreign press at the time.

The daily, which is faxed to subscribers around the world, quotes "reliable sources in London" as saying that the soldiers who were killed and those who were wounded by a missile during the exercise were standing in for Saddam Husayn and his entourage.

According to the report, a special missile with sensors was used in the exercise. The missile was meant to hit Saddam Husayn. The operation was planned with the aid of intelligence information gathered over two years, with the help of data from U.S. spy satellites and spy planes.

MIDDLE EAST MIRROR claims that according to the plan, an Israel Air Force command and control aircraft was supposed to oversee the operation by the elite unit that was to carry out the assassination.

As will be recalled, senior defense sources in Israel told foreign correspondents after the Ze'elim incident that the aim of the operation had been to practice the assassination of Hizballah leader Hasan Nasrallah. Foreign journalists who reported this without submitting the material to the military censor were punished. The sources on which the MIDDLE EAST MIRROR based its report said that the reports that Nasrallah was the target of the assassination plan were part of a deliberate attempt at deception on the part of the defense authorities in Israel.

The sources also said that only a sophisticated operation such as the attempted assassination of Saddam Husayn could have brought the IDF's [Israel Defense Forces] top brass to Ze'elim.

Further Reaction to U.S. Terrorism Threat Advisory

'Conspiracy' Seen

JN0403111393 Amman AKHBAR AL-USBU' in Arabic 4 Mar 93 p 20

[Article by Chief Editor Ahmad 'Ilawi: "A Political Rather Than Tourist Warning"]

[Text] Jordanian quarters have deemed the warning the U.S. Government addressed to its nationals in Jordan, urging caution against terrorist acts, both repulsive and peculiar. The "advisory" statement issued in this regard constitutes a political rather than tourist warning. It is also indicative of the ulterior motives President Clinton harbors toward Jordan—the intentions he is manifesting at the beginning of his term in office. This also shows the lowly conspiracy being concocted against Jordan by the Zionist lobby.

The U.S. warning is an implicit threat to Jordan and flagrant intervention in its domestic affairs. This "alleged" U.S. concern was prompted by the climate of stability and tranquility prevailing in Jordan, which is located in the midst of a region plagued by terrorism and extremism. Thus far, no terrorist act targeting any foreign tourist has been committed on Jordanian territory. One wonders whether the U.S. warning was meant to serve as an explicit invitation for some hateful parties to act to destabilize the situation in the country and demolish and poison the democratic and free atmosphere in Jordan. For Jordan, which has become an oasis of democracy, is meant by the United States, Israel, and Kuwait to become a den of terrorists.

First, we would like to reassure the United States about the safety of its nationals in Jordan. Secondly, we would like to warn it against the policy of casting doubts, exaggerating, and blowing things out of proportion, citing some normal individual incidents. Furthermore, we would like to tell the United States that the security situation in Jordan is at its best, not because of repression, murder, expulsions, and arrests, but thanks to the national reconciliation, national unity, and tolerance marking the Jordanian society. Instead of expressing concern and casting doubts about Jordan's democratic march, the United States must advise its nationals in Israel to leave, because since its inception, Israel has failed to provide its people and tourists with even a single hour of security. Why has the United States chosen to keep silent on this?

Additionally, we condemn and denounce the serious U.S. statements and warn against their dimensions and malicious objectives. From now on we will hold the United States responsible for any "terrorist" act that could occur in Jordan in the future. This is because this political statement, which has nothing to do with tourism, if indicative of anything, it is indicative of the existence of a new conspiracy and a premeditated U.S.-Israeli scheme against Jordan. The implementation of this scheme coincides with a ferocious offensive targeting Jordan with the aim of intimidating it into abandoning its national constants and democratic experiment, which has exposed the sham Israeli democracy. But, it remains to be said that Jordan, which defeated hundreds of conspiracies and thwarted scores of schemes, is capable, under leader Husayn, of defeating these fabrications and illusions and conquering all adversaries. We also warn against associating Islamic factions with terrorism, and against accusing them of extremism and terrorism. For, Islamic factions in the Jordanian arena are national factions which oppose and condemn terrorism. As a reminder, we would like to note that the terrorism and crime rate in both the United States and Israel is the highest in the world. Hence, it would be proper to include them in the list of terrorist countries which are incapable of ensuring their own security and in which human rights are violated.

And lastly, we would like to reaffirm to the United States that Jordan is in good shape, because its enlightened leadership has demonstrated, through its bitter and protracted struggle, its potential and creative ability to protect Jordan. This leadership has also managed to make dreams come true and work miracles. Thus, it has thwarted all conspiracies and attempts at obstruction and crushed all the evil plots hatched against it. Jordan will remain a country upholding a message, a bastion for the Arab revolt, and the place in which this revolt's principles and objectives are cherished and held in high esteem. Amman will continue to relate the stories of Arab glories without showing any fatigue or exhaustion.

Strong Government Reaction Urged

JN0403104693 Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 4 Mar 93 p 29

["Every Day" column by Tariq Masarwah: "The Spokesman for the State Department"]

[Text] We would like to say that an American in Amman is safer than an American in New York, Washington, or Los Angeles.

We also would like to say that the statement by the U.S. State Department spokesman is reminiscent of the stand adopted by the commanders of the U.S. fleet in the Gulf of Aqabah—a statement and actions meant to plunder Arab oil and appease the Arab oil shaykhs.

Just like we asked for a reaction to the blockade on the Gulf of Aqabah, we now demand a government reaction to the statements by the U.S. State Department spokesman and an exposure of these official U.S. contradictions. If the United States is going to plunder $47 billion as a price for weapons to Arab oil states, then there is no need to appease the grudges of al-Sabah family and other families of Arab decadence by launching such a cheap attack on our country. This is especially true given that the U.S. tourist is not within the considerations of the Jordanian Ministry of Tourism and that the people in our country are not standing on one foot under the March sun waiting for American tourists.

We would like to say that both the new and old U.S. Administrations do not like our country to be safe or to have its own liberties and democratic policy. Perhaps, the U.S. Administrations would like more regimes drowned in reactionism and ones that despise human rights and deal with their people as slaves. These are basic conditions for "friendship with the United States." Otherwise, if there are peoples who have their own liberties and respect their basic rights, then they would not accept all this plundering and total hegemony by the United States. An Arab, in the view of the State Department spokesman, means oil, reactionaryism, and plundering. This spokesman does not like a country such as Jordan in which there are an elected parliament, press, parties, and a constitution.

It is not right for us to remain silent over the blockade against us in the Gulf of Aqabah or over such statements by the State Department spokesman. We call on the government to strongly respond to this provocation. There are hundreds of thousands of foreigners and Arabs in Jordan. There is also safety and security for Jordanians and non-Jordanians in Jordan. This is a fact well-known to the spokesman and secretary, who was here some days ago. However, it seems that the State Department spokesman became a spokesman for the al-Sabah family and has grown a goatee like those sported by the al-Sabah family. There remains nothing for him to do but to get married every Thursday and divorced every Saturday, hold social meetings, wear a headdress, and look affluent.

Cabinet Licenses 2 Political Party Periodicals

JN0303204693 Amman PETRA-JNA in Arabic 1545 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Amman, 3 Mar (PETRA)—The Council of Ministers has approved the issuing of a license for a weekly political periodical named NIDA' AL-WATAN [CALL OF THE HOMELAND] requested by 'Azmi 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Khawaja. This periodical will serve as the mouthpiece of the Jordanian Democratic Popular Unity Party.

The Council of Ministers also approved the issuing of a license for a weekly political periodical named AL-JAMAHIR [THE MASSES] requested by Dr. Ya'qub Khalil Zayadin. It will be the mouthpiece of the Jordanian Communist Party.

The Council of Minister's approval of the requests submitted by al-Khawaja and Zayadin is in accordance with the provisions of Article 16/A of the Press and Publications Law No. 33 of 1973 and the Political Parties Law.

Al-Rantisi Sees Intifadah as 'Clear Alternative' to Talks

NC0303141693 Shanayh Voice of the Mountain in Arabic 1230 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Report by Suhayl Abu-Fa'ur]

[Text] Palestinian deportees spokesman Dr. 'Abd-al-'Aziz al- Rantisi held a news conference in the return camp this morning. He considered the Israeli health minister's call for an immediate withdrawal from the Gaza Strip to be incontrovertible proof that the negotiation option is not the only choice and that there is a clear alternative, the intifadah.

Al-Rantisi hailed [Syrian Foreign Minister] Faruq al-Shar's statement that there can be no more negotiations until the deportees are allowed to return together. Al-Rantisi said that this is Syria's fixed position.

Al-Rantisi praised Egyptian President Husni Mubarak's position on the issue, noting that he announced he will not visit Israel until the deportees are allowed to return together. Al-Rantisi thanked President Mubarak for his noble pan-Arab stand.

[Words indistinct] the old man in Jerusalem, al-Rantisi said: This is clear proof of the occupation troops' criminality and terrorism in the occupied territories. They do not distinguish between young and old.

Reacting to the U.S. State Department announcement that it has halted contacts with Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] leaders in several European and Arab countries and that it will place it on the terrorist list, al-Rantisi said: The concept of terrorism has become so confused that the terrorist is now a man of peace and the man of peace is now a terrorist. In light of such confused concepts, such an announcement by the United States or any other party loses significance.

Commenting on [Israeli President] Hayim Herzog's statement that Hamas is the sole obstacle to the peace negotiations, al-Rantisi declared: Herzog is the only specialist in fighting Islam, proving that the battle between us and the Jews is a cultural conflict between Judaism and Islam. It is a conflict of creeds.

Al-Rantisi said he will accept nothing short of the deportees' collective return.

Israeli Call for Committee To Discuss S. Lebanon Rejected

PM0303121793 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 2 Mar 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Lebanon Refuses To Form Military Committee With Israel To Discuss Future of South"]

[Text] Sources in Cairo have told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that Lebanon has repeated to the United States and Moscow its rejection of Israel's request to form a joint committee to discuss the future of occupied southern Lebanon. The sources said that the Lebanese rejection was conveyed to U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher during his important with Lebanese President Ilyas al-Hirawi, Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri, and Foreign Minister Faris Buwayz in Beirut following his sudden stopover during his his recent tour of the Middle East region.

Lebanon stressed its complete rejection of any possible prior conditions by Israel for withdrawing from southern Lebanon or any hint at what it termed secure boundaries in the security zone.

Lebanon also pointed out that the solution to the Israeli-Lebanese dispute is clearly specified in UN Security Council Resolution 425, which obliges Israel to withdraw completely from the south and stipulates Lebanon's right to extend its authority and sovereignty over all its territory without any interference.

Lebanon submitted to the U.S. secretary a full report on the results of the successive Israeli attacks on southern Lebanon and the continued threats to the legitimate authority in the country.

And it urged the need to obtain an explicit Israeli pledge that it would cease its aggressive scheme against Lebanon immediately.

Dallul 'Astonished' by Israeli Military Committee Proposal

NC0303183293 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1630 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Defense Minister Muhsin Dallul said Beirut and Damascus are maintaining daily contact for coordination purposes. He added that a Lebanese-Syrian summit meeting might be held in the very near future if Arab, regional, and international circumstances make it necessary.

In a radio interview, Dallul announced that the national accord agreement is being properly implemented. He said the Second Lebanese Republic has not curtailed anyone's rights and has distributed powers appropriately.

Referring to the occasional divergence of views within the government, Dallul said this is natural but does not mean that there are disagreements.

Dallul added that whenever an attempt is made to give momentum to the peace negotiations, Israel launches a new attack on Lebanon. He said Israel does not want Washington to become an impartial partner in the negotiations because it wishes to tackle each country alone and obstruct the talks. He stressed that Lebanon joined the negotiations only to have UN Security Council Resolution 425 implemented.

Dallul said the Army will confront the Israeli attacks within its capabilities and will not hesitate to carry out all the missions entrusted to it. He said he was astonished at the Israeli proposal to form a joint military committee to supervise border security. He said the task of a military committee should be to supervise the Israeli withdrawal, not security.

UNIFIL Repulses Israeli Patrol; Resistance Claims Attacks

NC0403073493 Shanayh Voice of the Mountain in Arabic 0530 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] An Israeli occupation patrol trying to advance into Ibil al-Saqy, which is under the control of UN Interim Force in Lebanon [UNIFIL], has been prevented from entering the town by the Norwegian contingent. UNIFIL also closed a road in Suq al-Khan region with barbed wire to prevent another Israeli force from overrunning a UNIFIL checkpoint.

The agents [reference to the pro-Israeli South Lebanese Army] told farmers in 'Ayn Qinya that they will be fired at without warning if they go to their farms near the contact lines separating the occupied strip and the liberated regions. The people of Markaba, which the occupation forces are besieging by not allowing anyone to enter or leave, appealed to the Lebanese Government and to international and humanitarian organizations to intervene promptly to lift the siege on their town and support the oppressed against the Zionist scheme.

The captive Ziyad Salmah Group of the Islamic Jihad carried out an operation at noon yesterday, ambushing a joint enemy-agent patrol in the town of 'Aramtah. A statement by the Islamic Resistance said a number of people in the patrol were killed or wounded. It added that the operation was followed by a clash between resistance men and the occupiers-agents. One resistance member was martyred.

Another Islamic resistance statement says that following the recent quality operations against a number of occupation-agent positions, especially in al-Suwayda' and Tuhrah, Muhammad Mundhir and Ahmad Daqi[illegible], members of Lahd militias, who had previously served in the 'Alman-al-Shumariyah military position, surrendered.

Rabin Said To Write 'Script' for Christopher's Views

NC0403074393 Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 25 Feb 93 p 1

[Muhammad Mashmushi editorial: "Rabin's Scenario for Christopher's Tour!"]

[Excerpts] Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin was naturally not surprised by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's statement that there were still obstacles to be removed before the Arab-Israeli talks could be resumed. Rabin had written this script for Christopher's mission in December, when his government deported 400 Palestinians from their homes. The argument that the Israeli deportation decision was an overt Israeli attempt to escape the talks or postpone them for as long as possible is not an exaggeration. [passage omitted]

Regardless of whether Christopher understands this game at this point of his tenure, and hence cut a "deal" with Rabin to minimize the losses, as they say, the final outcome will be the same. This outcome is represented by Christopher's statement yesterday following two days of talks in Tel Aviv. In the statement, he returned to the point where he started prior to his visit.

The real situation deserves even more examination and scrutiny. The U.S. secretary behaved liked an actor who, wittingly or unwittingly, accurately played scenes brilliantly written by Rabin. [passage omitted]

If Christopher said during his stay in Damascus that his country intends to play a bigger role than played by the former administration, these words need to be translated into deeds quickly. This talk will be put to the test in the coming days and weeks. The whole U.S. policy will also be put to the test. Will the Clinton administration follow the course followed by the former administration? Or will it continue to be governed by the two slogans raised by Clinton during his election campaign? The first slogan dealt with focusing on U.S. domestic affairs; the second, with competing with his rival George Bush in winning the Jewish vote.

'Terrorist' Killed in Southern Lebanon

NC0303154193 (Clandestine) Voice of the South in Arabic to Lebanon 1430 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] A terrorist was killed in the al-Rayhan area today. His personal weapon, some ammunition, explosives, an RPG launcher, a radio set, and a bullet-proof vest were found near his body. The terrorist was wearing a Lebanese army uniform.

India

Defense Minister Pawar Named New Maharashtra Chief

BK0303160693 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1530 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Mr. Sharad Pawar is to be the new chief minister of Maharashtra. The AICC-I [All India Congress Committee-I] general secretary, Mr. Janardhana Poojary, in charge of the state, announced in New Delhi this evening that the party president has selected Mr. Pawar to be the leader of the Maharashtra Congress-I Legislature Party [CLP]. He said the selection is in pursuance of the resolution passed by the state CLP on Sunday [28 February].

The Congress-I spokesman, Mr. Chandulal Chandrakar, said the party chief, Mr. Narasimha Rao, selected Mr. Pawar after wide- ranging consultations. He said Mr. Pawar was informed this morning.

In a statement, the Congress-I president, Mr. Narasimha Rao, said he has taken the decision in view of the overriding need to bring in political stability in Maharashtra. He said he wholly concurred with the opinion of the AICC-I observers that Mr. Pawar is the only leader who can satisfy the aspirations of the people of the state. He appreciated that Mr. Pawar has accepted the selection like a disciplined soldier of the party. Observing that Mr. Pawar had (?acquainted) himself very well in the difficult task of defense minister, Mr. Rao said he looks forward to his continued role at the national level.

Replying to queries from newsmen, the Congress-I spokesman, Mr. Chandrakar, indicated that the Maharashtra CLP is likely to meet late tomorrow evening in Bombay.

Pawar on Pakistan Purchase of Tanks, Fighters

BK0403074293 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0730 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] The defense minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, told the Rajya Sabha today that the Government is constantly monitoring all developments having a bearing on the country's security and will take necessary measures to safeguard it. He was replying to a question on whether the government is aware that Pakistan has finalized a deal for purchasing 300 T-72 tanks from Poland and fighter aircraft from Russia to strengthen its defense forces.

President Rule Extension in Kashmir Viewed

BK0303120993 Delhi All India Radio General Overseas Service in English 1010 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Commentary by Ved Prakash, special correspondent of ASSAM EXPRESS]

[Text] The president's rule in Jammu and Kashmir has been extended for another six months with effect from today, that is March the 3d. The resolution seeking extension of the president's rule was moved in the Rajya Sabha on February the 25th. If one goes by the statement of home minister, S.B. Chavan, made in the Lok Sabha on Thursday [25 February], it would be clear that the center is open to the suggestion of granting greater autonomy to Kashmir if it provides a permanent solution. By the statement, Mr. Chavan has made it clear that the government was not averse to holding of any dialogue with the militants provided they shun violence and accept the Constitution of India. Mr. Chavan also cited the state governor's report which emphasizes that the security situation in the state continued to be serious and militants were still retaining significant striking capacity and firepower backed by assistance from Pakistan. Mr. Chavan was right when he cautioned the nation that before restoring the political process, we will have to guard against this fact.

It is an admitted fact that political parties at the state level have not been able to activize their cadres mainly due to the fear of the gun. The activation of the political elements was necessary to encourage the masses to come out openly against the gun culture and into the mainstream of national life. During the last 6 months, the central government took various initiatives to activize the political process, including discussions with the leaders of the political parties, former legislators and parliamentarians from the state. An all-party parliamentary team also visited Kashmir to assess the situation on the ground. Even the president of India in his address to the two houses of parliament on the opening day of the budget session had emphasized the need to reactivate the political process in the state as the security forces were working under extremely difficult conditions to meet the challenge of the militants. Curbing the antinational elements is the first priority and all other considerations will have to take a back seat, at least for some time to come.

The election in the state at this time is only next to impossible. That is why the parliament had to approve the extension of the president's rule in a voice vote. Poor and innocent people in the valley are fed up with trigger-happy militants, with extortions and intimidations that are negating everything for which Kashmir stands. Out of sheer frustration, the terrorists are threatening even media men for reporting the factual situation in the state. The mutual distrust among the militants is another factor that is leading to killings of each other's cadres, harbingers and supporters of the cadres. Although the ISI [Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence] has full control on different outfits, its frantic efforts to stop internecine warfare among them have failed to achieve any tangible result in the face of Jamaat-i-Islami-controlled Hezbul Mujahidin's determination to be the sole arbiter of Kashmiri Muslim's destiny.

It is a well-known fact that Pakistan's military intelligence is using narcotics profits to fund separatist movements in India. According to a study made by American Central Intelligence Agency, the heroin trade has penetrated the highest political circles of Pakistan and has become the lifeblood of Pakistani economy and government, that is being used to finance insurgency in Kashmir. The leadership in Pakistan, which is trying to make capital out of the situation in Kashmir by internationalizing the issue and by constantly supplying guns and imparting training to various militant outfits in its 48 camps, would better remember that India is not becoming politically unstable, nor it would disintegrate to help Pakistan pick up some pieces.

Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, in his Independence Day speech from the Red Fort had made it clear that Kashmir is not negotiable and that is the bottom line. The Pakistani leadership that has been encouraging subversion in India is doing no service to Pakistan or to the subcontinent's felt need for peace and friendship. It is elementary truth that poking one's nose into a neighbor's internal affairs can build only an unhappy relationship which only leads to disaster and nothing else.

Need To Reorganize Armed Forces Viewed

BK0303134393 Delhi INDIAN DEFENCE REVIEW in English Jan 93 pp 34-38

[Article by retired Brigadier H.S. Sodhi: "The Fire Brigades"]

[Text]

Parameters

While the aim here is to discuss the employment of the Army and the Paramilitary forces and the consequent need, if any, of their reorganisation/reorientation, it is essential to first get certain parameters clear. These parameters must be kept firmly in mind during this discussion as these are considered the real cause and solution.

India is a very old country with a distinct culture of its own. It has been subjected to a large number of invasions but its culture has not undergone any significant change; it has managed to absorb most of what has come its way into its own fold. But apart from the British domination period, it has never been one politically, with either the South or East or both being out of the ambit of the major political entity. It is only under the British that India achieved the size and shape of its geographical and social subcontinental boundaries, which are now spoken of as India (before its partition into India and Pakistan.)

The country has developed into distinct regions with their own languages and sub cultures; religion has often formed part of such distinction, even though the Hindu culture and faith has been prevalent all over, with Islam as the second big segment and other faiths being mainly restricted to some specific areas. These factors, allied with the restricted means of communication, tended to keep the regions of the country apart with little inter se movement or contact.

This developed the attitude of considering the family, caste, religion and region as the main areas of concern for its inhabitants; the concept of a country as a whole remained vague and mainly confined to its cultural connotations. The idea of the entire country being one, with its interests and benefits being interwoven, never did find much belief and even less application.

The British domination brought to the fore one common enemy for all Indians and this led to some unity, tenuous and fragile at best, to ask the British to quit India. This was achieved at the cost of the partition of the country. The last 45 years of Independence, and the policies adopted by the Government has brought us back to square one, by breaking up the little cohesion and unity brought about by the British (see the composite nature of its provinces) for their own reasons or due to opposition to the British.

Whenever an objective and unbiased history is written of the post Independence period, the adoption of the policy of linguistic states will surely be termed as one of the most pernicious, deleterious and fractious measure that has led to the present state of heightened tension and unrest.

This brings us to the first parameter: *Indians of all hues and standing are still mainly concerned about self, family, caste, religion and region with little or no thought to the country as a whole.* This applies to all segments from the leaders in or out of power and the common man. The very small segment that might be concerned about the countrywide implications are silent and/or of no consequence—so far.

The first linguistic state, Andhra, was established as a result of a fast unto death by Potti Sriramulu. Other such states were then carved out, but with the Government displaying an ambivalent attitude. While some were conceded at once, in other cases there were signs of pusillanimity and were to be conceded only grudgingly and with ill grace which caused long term adverse consequences.

This led to the next parameter: *The Government will only act with the spur of agitations and violence.* This has also been reinforced by the reactions of the Government in other matters too all over the country.

Our leaders so far have adopted the policy of procrastination in every matter in the obvious hope that, if ignored long enough, the problem will cease to exist. When forced to, the Government has adopted expedient measures to meet the extant situation without trying to get to the root of the problem and solve it for the entire country before it rears its head elsewhere.

Take the example of the river waters disputes that linger in the North and the South; the Government has yet to come out with any comprehensive and overall policy that would apply to the entire country, taking into account the sentiments and needs of the areas. If such a policy were adopted in all contentious issues, either in advance or at least when the problem first crops up, a lot of similiar type of eruptions could have been avoided in other parts of the country.

As issues linger and fester, the dangerous ingredient of vote gathering is added to it and it is soon turned into a caste, religional issue. And such backing evokes strong emotions which become difficult to control. And the effect has to be felt in all government agencies also if the issues continue to linger. The security forces of all hues too have to get effected eventually, even though discipline may delay such adverse effects for some time. But discipline also has the factor of such manifestations being suppressed initially and only emerging when they are in virulent form and, hence, are all the more dangerous in such disciplined agencies.

The next parameter is one that the Government has so far totally violated and it has been aided and abetted in this by the opposition leaders: *Divisive issues must be tackled at the earliest with the aim of long term solutions.* This can be worded differently too: *Government policies must be such that security forces do not have to be used too frequently or extensively.*

It will bear reiteration that the personnel who comprise the security forces of all types are from the same stock that raises the issues and problems and have to, eventually, get effected by these issues, if these are not solved expeditiously. This can only lead to deleterious effect on their functioning.

The Role of the Army

A stage has been reached now when the use of the Army in internal roles has escalated very sharply in frequency scope and duration. The Army has always been the standby for any situation that was assessed to be beyond the competence of the other paramilitary forces. (Under the British, such paramilitary forces only consisted of the regular police and the CRPF [Central Reserve Police Force]). Such army employment was always of a very limited nature and duration and it was not expected to carry out normal policing roles. The duties of the Army would, obviously, increase under martial law, but resort to this drastic measure was very rare indeed and one would have to really search to find out the incidence of such impositions under the British.

It will be pertinent and prudent to have a look at the role of the Army to be able to see its true and suitable position in the handling of affairs by the Government. There are some fundamental principles that are accepted as such by all:

—The primary role of the Army is to counter the external threat by defensive and offensive measures within the policies of the Government.

—To assist the Government internally during emergencies.

—In a democracy, civil authority is supreme over the armed forces.

A brief elucidation is needed to highlight the misconceptions that have occurred over a period of time, after Independence, in the implementation of the above mentioned fundamental principles. The very important aspects of responsibility, authority and accountability have got blurred.

The primary role of external threat requires forces adequate for the tasks envisaged by the Government (hopefully this is taken care of by the present strength of the Army); adequate and the proper type of weaponry (again, this can be presumed to be taken care of even though such matters are of continuing change and advances); the proper training, and motivation of the personnel (this is the germane factor for this discussion).

The first two factors of the overall strength and equipment are within the sphere of the Government and the top echelons of the Army. Recent wars have proved that even with inferior weapons and lesser strength, a well trained and motivated force can achieve dramatic results. The factors of training and motivation are largely within the sphere of the Army itself, even though the policies of the Government regarding service conditions do have quite a lot of influence in the motivation aspect.

For training and motivation the Army needs its personnel free for a reasonable time of regular, systemtic and progressive training, during which the various levels of Army leaders get the chance to influence their commands by their methods and personality and also inculcate the required attitudes in the men. Since Independence, the number of field areas within the country have increased manifold. These are located along our borders which require daily vigilance, leaving little or no time for training; further, troops are often deployed in small sub units where central command and control is not so effective. Such areas are non family stations.

Under the normal circumstances, units having served a three year tenure in such field areas were posted to peace stations where proper training could be carried out; family life made possible and effective command and control and administration effected. In the last few years this cycle has been drastically broken by the large scale and long duration use of the Army in internal matters as in the Punjab (including the elections and the continuing duties), J&K [Jammu and Kashmir], and Assam. At one time all three of these "fronts" were active and the Army deployed there in strength.

None of our political leaders since Independence (bar an odd case now) have had any experience of the armed services and what are the tangible and intangible requirements of these that go to make for the required instant efficiency. Only now is some awareness emerging among our leaders that excessive use of the Army internally is harmful in the long term.

The primary role of the Army needs to be kept in view all the time. If war had broken out when the Army was extended in the Punjab, J&K, Assam and Sri Lanka, our plight can be imagined. It needs to be remembered that no amount of civil supremacy advocated during peace time will act as an acceptable excuse if the Army does not perform well during war. We have the example of the 1962 war with China.

The ultimate responsibility for the training and motivation of the Army, and accountability of its performance, rests with the top echelons of the Army. This then brings us face to face with the problem of authority. What is the point beyond which orders of the civil authority become untenable for the Army? The answer seems straightforward: *When the performance of the Army in its primary role is likely to be affected.* And the ones to make this decision has to be the top Army echelons as they are the ones answerable for inadequate performance. Again, we must remember the 1962 war. An enquiry was held and some of the observations/recommendations were aired but these pertained entirely to the performance of the Army; the role of the civil authority in this debacle was never brought out.

We have reached the stage when the civil authority feels free to create the situations of tension and friction, considering only personal, regional, power factors; knowing fully well that the problem can then be thrown at the Army. Just imagine the change in policies if the Army was not so readily available to bail out the civil authority so often and over such extended periods. There would surely have been more sanity and pragmatism in the policies adopted by the civil authority.

There is certainly a very strong case for the Army top echelons to protest the ill advised use of the "last resort" of the country to the detriment of its primary role. And such protests need to be carried out up to the point of resignation to evoke a public debate on the issue. It is very telling that whenever a situation arises, as in the case of the present COAS [Chief of Army Staff] interview with a newspaper, where the use of the Army internally is questioned, every effort is made to avoid any discussion in the Lok Sabha; such an occasion would seem to be the only time when the government and the opposition are in agreement to throttle a discussion by tacit agreement among themselves and then only make brief and innocuous statements in the House to prevent detailed discussion. Why? Because this would bring the government in the dock for its policies which make the extensive use of the Army necessary.

Better sense seems to be emerging now in the government, at least verbally, in their stated policy that the Army use has to be curtailed internally. But this has yet to be given effect.

This aspect can be closed by re-emphasising that the Army, inspite of its vaunted discipline, will succumb to the enervating disturbed environment and get involved in and carried away by regional, religious, caste factors if exposed to them, directly or indirectly, for too long.

Paramilitary Forces

Having inherited the police (with the odd state with an armed police component), the Assam Rifles and the CRPF from the British period, the paramilitary forces have now proliferated. Some of the additional ones being used for internal security duties currently are the Indo-Tibet Border Police (ITBP), the Border Security Force (BSF), the National Security Guards (NSG). Not only have these forces' strength been augmented considerably but there is active thought being given to the raising of more forces for internal security duties. These are the Rashtriya Rifles and the Indian Reserve Force.

As mentioned earlier, the realisation seems to have started dawning that the use of the Army is counterproductive. The answer found by the government seems to be: *Increase the existing strength of the paramilitary forces and also raise new forces.* The Government seems to suffer from the gambler's optimism that the throw (the next new force) will bring in the bonanza and wipe out all old debts. But this, of course, does not happen.

As discussed earlier, ideally the government policies should be such that the use of the paramilitary forces is minimised in scope and duration. While this should be the aim for the future, the conflagrations already set off needs to be tackled. The paramilitary forces are the ones that should be used for this. Certain reorganisation and reorientation in these is essential to achieve fast and equitable results.

It will bear reiteration that no amount of reorganisation and reorientation will suffice if the government policies are not conducive to fast and permanent peace among our diverse peoples, languages, religions. Paramilitary forces' actions can only be a purely temporary measure to give the government policies a chance to succeed, especially under the current conditions of existing unrest, distrust and agitations.

Command and Control

The plethora of paramilitary forces make for fractuous functioning when required to work together. They are then more concerned with defending their conception of their inter se importance, rather than getting on with the job.

All the paramilitary forces under the Centre should come under one operational command which should cover recruitment, training, administration and deployment. Such a HQ [headquarters] and forces under it would be on the analogy of the Army HQ which controls various arms and services and groups them to the required tasks. The present propensity to create various "empires" through such forces must cease. There will at once be a lot of saving on the tail and this strength can be converted into the teeth for actual deployment.

This common command and control would, obviously, also apply when any such force is deployed for any task. Such a force should not be placed under the state police though its actions will, of course, have to be coordinated closely with them. A fair division of action would be to leave the state police to do the normal police work while the paramilitary force takes on the extra burden that has necessitated its deployment. This force should, for that period, work under the state government which would have to set up a joint control HQ.

Training. This should be split up into two major segments. The first one should be common to all types of paramilitary forces and cover all the basic trainings. The second segment should be for the specialised nature of the force to which the personnel are finally detailed. All such training should be under one authority. This will save a lot of manpower and cut out the existing duplication created by all such forces present.

A very major aspect of training has to be psychological attunement for the jobs to be undertaken. Remembering that all internal security jobs are in dealing with the citizens of our country, there has to be training on how to handle various types of situations with the least friction, fuss and adverse consequences. This is the most important aspect of training that is essential for internal security jobs. Such training has to be repeated regularly in short, intense courses; particular attention has to be given in this to the inculcation of the correct attitudes among the officers, which will then percolate to the men and go to reinfoece the training that the men have also been imparted. The officers and men have to be trained that, better than killing is being able to handle a situation peacefully, while being fully capable and prepared to use minimum force if it becomes inevitable.

The psycological attunement training must be imparted by experts and not merely by the normal instructors available unless they have done advanced courses in this and been found fit for the job.

Recruitment. This must be on all India, mixed class basis, down to the lowest level. Officers must also be mixed irrespective of where the particular unit is meant to operate. At present it will be seen that the BSF, for instance, tends to be recruited locally. This goes against even the requirement of its primary role of looking after the border. And mixing of the recruitment will also lead to greater national integration (as in the case of the Army even though not all its units are mixed but the officers invariably are.)

Parallel induction of retiring Army personnel, including officers, into the paramilitary forces should become the norm. This will make available fully trained and motivated personnel (provided they have not been allowed to spend any time after retirement in the civil sector); give the needed induction of different attitudes and service culture—and save the government a lot of money.

Equipment. Given the freely available sophisticated weapons to the trouble makers, it is essential that the paramilitary forces are equally well equipped. Special squads can be formed for specialised weapons like anti tank rockets etc., for deployment with any group requiring this help.

Assam Rifles. A special mention of this force is called for considering the roles it has been playing with and under the Army. The portions of this force that are required to function with the Army, should betumed into regular Army units. The Assam Rifles should then remain purely as a paramilitary force.

Efficiency. Inspite of all the training and other measures taken, the efficiency and effacacy of the paramilitary forces will depend entirely on the government policies that complement the use of such forces. The prolonged use of such forces will produce a diminishing return syndrome. Where issues like Ayodhya, Punjab, J&K, Jharkhand agitation (if it takes a worse shape) and Assam are concerned, prolongation of the problems will have an adverse effect on such forces; such effect will be quicker on the forces actually employed and much slower on the other portions but eventually all will be affected.

Conclusion

No amount of tinkering with the organisation and orientation of the paramilitary forces will make them productive to the expected degree unless government policies are tailored to assist their task and their involvement is kept to the barest minimum. The clinches like "revamping" and "red alert" are hollow without judicious inputs by the government.

The onus for avoiding issues that are likely to cause friction and law and order problems lies squarely on the government and the political leaders of all hues, in power or in opposition. Government policies must be designed to avoid and minimise the repercussions of tendentious issues which must be anticipated and policies adopted keeping in view the long term interests of the country and announced early and implemented firmly.

The excessive use of the Army in internal affairs must be curtailed drastically and immediately. It is the duty of the senior Army echelons, especially the COAS, to protest the use of the Army that militates against its primary role; such protests must be taken to the point of resignation if needed.

Resort to raising of new forces to combat the same maladies is a case of not only fooling the public but also creating complacency in the government itself. (Such measures may, of course, help tackle the unemployment problem to some extent). The public has become cynical about such policies and claims of the government that any new force will have the magic wand to settle all the problems.

The magic wand is in the hands of the Government if only it will take notice of it and use it judiciously. The good fairy that watches government activities has laid down the condition that the magic wand will only be effective if it is used for the long term benefit of the country as a whole, with no personal, regional, religious, or linguistic factors tilting the balance unevenly.

Article Views Pakistan's Nuclear Threat

BK0303140993 Delhi INDIAN DEFENCE REVIEW in English Jan 93 pp 61-63

[Article by Brigadier V.P. Naib (Retired) entitled: "The Nuclear Threat"]

[Text] The recent affirmation by Pakistan's foreign minister that Pakistan possessed the capacity to assemble a nuclear device, so far hidden behind the purdah of secrecy, fully exposes the ugly face of Pakistan's Islamic bomb. There is nothing new in such an affirmation. Even before the US stopped its aid to Pakistan under the Pressler Amendment, it had become an established fact that Pakistan did possess such a capability since the early Eighties. To expect that Pakistan would rest on its oars and do nothing further, is to put a strain on one's credibility. Short of having ready to use nuclear warheads, Pakistan would have taken the necessary steps to have in readiness all the components for producing atomic warheads as well as the delivery systems, so that a number of warheads can be launched against selected targets within a matter of hours after taking the decision to strike. The point to note is that, having the initiative and the resources to strike first, obtain surprise and cause widespread destruction, Pakistan would choose its targets in such manner and location as would confer maximum advantage to its attacking forces.

India's Reaction

India's reaction to the likelihood of a nuclear attack by Pakistan is rather intriguing. Successive governments have been blandly repeating the assurance that 'a retaliatory capacity will be available at short notice, should the need for it arise'. The obvious inference is that the government has already taken the necessary steps to retaliate if Pakistan resorts to a nuclear first strike. The 'short notice' visualised by the government should either come from our own intelligence sources, which are not yet adequate though in the process of becoming so, or from US intelligence, whose reconnaissance satellites are already on the orbit watching incessantly and photographing signs of military movement throughout the length and breadth of both the countries. The ability of US intelligence to gather up to date information to forestall either country's intentions to make war may act as a damper against starting a war. Even so this knowledge should not lull us into a sense of false security .

Nuclear Options

The recent unequivocal statements by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary that 'India will not sign the NPT [Nuclear non Proliferation Treaty] nor will it participate in the proposed conference on the declaration of South Asia as a nuclear free zone' have cleared somewhat the cobwebs obscuring our nuclear options. In order, however, to prove our bonafides, we have shown our willingness for bilateral negotiations to discuss positive steps towards regional disarmament with the US or Pakistan, which will also serve to deflect US pressure to make India agree to its version of non-proliferation. We have time till 1995, which is the deadline for extension of the NPT. The US will use all means to pressurise India like pulling back US support for World Bank loans and hurt India's economy and its economic reforms programme. The next three years are crucial for India to prepare and safeguard its nuclear security.

In the present uni-polar world, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the US has taken upon itself international policing to prevent regional wars, whatever the provocation. The danger of such wars becoming nuclear, with horrendous consequences to the region and incidentally to US interests, has been foreseen by the US. Hence its relentless efforts to pressurise threshold nuclear powers in South Asia and the Middle East to sign the NPT or to accept the nuclear free zone concept. The US is resorting to strong diplomatic persuasion, economic arm twisting and intimidation to the extent of threatening military intervention, to compel regional power to accept the US version of nuclear non-proliferation. Such pressurising has already started against India, which is threatened with economic ruin if its policies are sabotaged by the US. How far India can resist such pressure is only a matter of time. The US is determined to bend the threshold nuclear powers to its will before 1995, when the NPT comes up for renewal in the conference of nuclear and non-nuclear powers.

There have been considerable academic discussions about our nuclear stance vis-a-vis Pakistan, whether we should maintain 'nuclear ambiguity' or adopt 'nuclear balance of terror'. One leading defence analyst has suggested acquisition of nuclear weapons and adoption of a policy of 'minimum deterrence', without explaining what would constitute minimum deterrence. Such exercises betray a confused perception of the dimensions of a nuclear war. Security depends upon assuming the worst possible case and developing the ability to cope with it. We must be able to absorb the total weight of a nuclear attack on our nuclear stockpiles and installations, on our air, ground and naval capability to make war, our vital industrial complexes, oil installations, on our cities and on our people. We can only do this by having in readiness a reliable ability to inflict unacceptable damage at any time during the strategic nuclear exchange, or as Mr. McNamara termed it, 'an assured destruction capability'. Such a capability should also be credible, in the sense that it should impress upon the potential aggressor that we would be able to destroy his military capability and also cripple his economic and social life. This is the true meaning of deterrence and it cannot be achieved by the so-called minimum deterrence nor by the government's bland assurance that 'it will be able to retaliate at short notice, when the need arises'.

If Pakistan is convinced that we possess massive retaliatory capability, that would not only deter it from embarking upon any nuclear misadventure, but it would also bring about a sea change in its policies towards India, particularly its blatant support of subversion in Kashmir and terrorism in Punjab. Pakistan is getting so cocky these days that it does not hesitate to use its apparent edge in nuclear capability to intimidate India. It is reported to have dropped a hint to the US shuttle diplomat Mr. Robert Gates that any Indian escalation on the conventional plane would invite nuclear retaliation! (Times of India; 14th Jan 1992)

In view of the foregoing global and regional nuclear scenario, two important decisions should be taken by the government. First, we should build up our nuclear retaliatory capability without delay. Short of exploding another nuclear device, we should go ahead as we are presumably doing, to have in readiness the various components of our nuclear attack force. The need for a nuclear field explosion is no longer there, except perhaps for testing thermo-nuclear bombs, because ordinary nuclear explosions can be simulated in laboratories. The second decision is when and how we should demonstrate, without sacrificing security, our deterrent nuclear capability vis-a-vis Pakistan or China, the latter being the bigger threat. These decisions are political and the government should for once adopt an aggressive yet realistic posture. In the past, Pakistan and China have exploited the failure of India's ruling elite in security management to promote their interest at India's cost. With nuclear threat darkly looming ahead, the government should discard its 'style of double talk, double think and will-less-ness' and boldly tell other nations exactly where they get off when the nation's security is at stake. While maintaining our readiness to retaliate massively, 'if the need for it arises' we should take confidence building measures to promote regional disarmament and demand unequivocally that the US and other nuclear powers stop their nuclear deceits and hypocrisies and practice what they preach by taking positive steps towards global nuclear disarmament. Yielding to arm twisting will only make the bully more demanding.

Preparing for Nuclear War

We have three courses open to us to meet the threat of nuclear aggression. First, we can have sophisticated defence consisting of extensive electronic surveillance, interceptor aircraft and air to air, surface to air and even satellite based interception developed by the US under its Star Wars Programme (the Strategic Defensive Initiative). As Herbert York, President Reagan's scientific advisor, remarked, 'Even the Soviet air defence costing 500 billion dollars was a hideously expensive failure against an American bomber force costing five billion dollars'. The US is having second thoughts about the much touted SDI space shield, perhaps another hideously expensive failure to buy security against nuclear attack by the latest delivery systems surpassing the dreaded MIRVs—Multiple Independently Targettable Re-entry Vehicle, which can carry a number of nuclear warheads designed to hit separate targets. The second course is to carry out a pre-emptive strike with conventional warheads to destroy enemy's war making capability including his nuclear weaponry and installations. As that would mean all out war of aggression, the government may not accept it in view of international repercussions. The third course, as already mentioned is to develop our assured destruction capability against the aggressor.

The question is, how are we to achieve such a capability with our limited resources? There is a general misapprehension that the cost of producing nuclear warheads in the required quantity would be prohibitive. Producing a certain quantity of them for any one class of delivery system would cost only a fraction of the cost of the latter. A careful appraisal of what we have to spend in view of our strong nuclear industrial base, and the required strength of our nuclear retaliatory force vis-a-vis Pakistan's nuclear capability, will enable us to determine the cost involved. Our nuclear arsenal cannot attain the level of 18,000 warheads which the US had way back in the Sixties, nor is it necessary for us to do so. We have more than a dozen heavy water nuclear reactors and processing/reprocessing plants, which can produce weapon grade plutonium from the large quantities of nuclear waste accumulated in our numerous nuclear installations. We are also capable of producing in our nuclear re-processing plants weapon grade uranium, whose warheads are much lighter than the ones based upon plutonium. These should enable us to produce the required stock of nuclear warheads for our nuclear retaliatory strike force. In this regard, we have a definite edge over Pakistan. The requirement of nuclear warheads should be worked out meticulously based on the number of strategic targets selected to destroy the enemy's nuclear and conventional war making capability as also the number and type of delivery systems and units available with us.

Strategic targetting of warheads and missiles depends for effectiveness upon a three pronged delivery system consisting of aircraft, ground based missiles and submarines, going by the name of TP IAD in the US. As for aircraft, we have the MIG-27 and 29 as also the Mirage 2000, which can launch bombs and missiles after suitably modifying the aircraft to carry out such tasks. As for missiles, our Integrated Guided Missiles Development Programme (IGMDP), initiated in 1983, has made significant progress and soon our missiles technology, of which the US and China are apprehensive, will soon be our strongest weapon of strategic deterrence. For the present, however, only the Prithvi-the tactical surface to surface missiles, and the surface to air missiles Akash and Trishul, not to speak of the anti-tank missiles Nag, are ready to go into production. The IRBM [Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile] Agni is not yet ready to join our missile armada. It is foolish to bend to the US pressure and go slow on the completion of this powerful strategic weapon, which is already striking terror in the hearts of several/adversely inclined powers.

The third leg of our TRIAD, probably the most potent of all delivery systems, is unfortunately our weakest as we have no submarine capable of launching a nuclear missile. The production of Agni and a submarine similar to the US Polaris needs to be taken up as a crash programme, for development and production. These may be expensive projects, but national security demands that we should have these weapons in our strategic retaliatory nuclear force. Strategic targetting should be worked out in meticulous detail showing target locations, the class and units of the delivery system carrying out the attack and the allocation of warheads for each target. When all the likely targets have been identified to ensure destruction of the enemy's nuclear as well as conventional war making capability, we will be in a position to assess our 'assured destruction capability', make up shortages if any in our delivery systems and the required quantum of nuclear warheads in our arsenal. As brought out above, the cost of acquiring adequate nuclear weaponry is not beyond the country's economic strength given the infrastructure already available.

Equally important, however, are other aspects of nuclear war, which need urgent attention. The command and control apparatus needs restructuring with unity of command centralised at the top and control decentralised at functional levels. All the three services should be intimately involved in producing an integrated nuclear strike plan, which should be capable of instant and simultaneous execution by the three services, with strict obedience to the minutest detail. The next requirement is restructuring the armed forces, particularly the army in regard to organisation, weapons and tactical concepts, so that they are attuned to the nuclear battlefield. With the bulk of the army fighting formations committed to low intensity war in Kashmir, fighting the terrorists in Punjab and in the east, and battle training has been totally neglected, it is doubtful whether our fighting formations are fit for a conventional war. In view of the impending threat of nuclear aggression, the restructuring and training of the armed forces should be taken up intensively without delay, to prepare them for the nuclear battlefield. Somehow, a lack of urgency in the government's perception of the nuclear threat appears to have generated a dangerous complacency in the minds of every one from the Defence Ministry and the services headquarters down the line to the field formations and units. Even the training establishments are content to treat nuclear warfare only academically without coming to grips with the awesome implications of facing a nuclear attack and the technique of combatting it. The cost of restructuring and training of the armed forces for a nuclear war can be met with our existing resources. An intelligent re-appropriation of the defence budget, coupled with a drastic pruning down of the enormous administrative tail which has grown over the years in all the services including the Defence Ministry and its numerous establishments, should throw up adequate funds needed for restructuring and training.

Apart from defence, all other organs of the government and civilian establishments are even more complacent and no serious thought is given to the problems people have to contend with when struck by a nuclear warhead. No attempt has so far been made to plan restoration of communications and essential services disrupted by a nuclear attack. As a start, people in areas vulnerable to nuclear strikes should be educated in the technique of passive defence, treatment and evacuation of casualties. These and a host of other problems like control of refugees, need much planning and preparation to keep up the morale of the civil population and the fighting troops up in the front.

A very important factor when facing war, whether nuclear or otherwise, is the existence of a high degree of societal cohesion among the people. Unfortunately, our current economic and political state, wide economic disparities amongst individuals and regions, more than half the population still living below the poverty line and lacking basic needs to be able to live on the fringe of civilisation, growing frustration among the people spurning them to violent defiance of law, combine to damage the fabric of our developing societal cohesion, which is yet to acquire meaning and substance. One ray of hope in this murky gloom is the courage and the fortitude of the people to come together when faced with a national calamity or danger to its security.

Commentary Views 'Indo-Russian Equation'

BK0403084893 Delhi INDIAN DEFENCE REVIEW in English Jan 93 p 7

["IDR Comment": "Indo-Russian Equation"]

[Text] New Delhi's chances of maintaining the old equation with Moscow are rather bleak in the post cold war era. The Russians have now no compulsions to continue any special arrangements with India and they see no major advantage in selling oil or weapons to us under a special dispensation. In the prevailing economic situation the Russians are looking for hard cash and profitable economic ties and not merely moral support. Although the present political situation is still fluid, the latest key policy document released by the Russian INTERFAX News Agency indicates that the Russians no longer want to appear 'deliberately pro-Indian'. This document, in fact recommends the end of the special nature of Indo-Russian relations. This document while favouring military cooperation with India adds "it is necessary to take into account the specificity of that country's (India's) stand on such international problems as non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and rockets".

It is evident that Russia will now go along with the USA to exert increasing pressure on India to sign the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty]. This stand is also necessary with a view to persuade various former states of the USSR to sign on the dotted line.

The Russian attitude on J&K [Jammu and Kashmir] has also undergone a radical change. From all available indications it no longer supports India's stand unequivocally. It seems now the Russians accept the position that there is an ongoing dispute on the status of J&K which must be resolved peacefully between India and Pakistan. The Russians are likely to treat India and Pakistan on par. Pakistan may be at an advantage here since it is clubbed together with Turkey and Iran in this foreign policy document. Pakistan, it seems, is expected to play an important role in the Islamic Central Asian region, along with Iran and Turkey.

Russia has lately curtailed all economic assistance to India and has quietly urged her to resolve its problems with China. Although Russia is still willing to sell advanced weapon systems to India on hard cash it has reservations in providing advanced missile technology to us, although Moscow has lately sold missile guidance systems, rocket technology and sophisticated air to air and surface missile technology to China.

Various developments show a definite change in the Indo-Russian equation despite the agreements signed by Mr. Sharad Pawar and others in Moscow recently. We should face these new realities squarely and boldly and lookforviable alternatives as Russian oil or defence supplies may no more be available to us, even in a crisis situation.

Border Talks With Pakistan, PRC Viewed

BK0403090093 Delhi INDIAN DEFENCE REVIEW in English Jan 93 p 7

[IDR Comment: "Ongoing Talks With China and Pakistan"]

[Text] During the fifth meeting of the Joint Working Group (JWG) in Beijing in October 1992, China and India agreed in principle to reduce the strength of their forces on the borders. Reducing over all military presence in border areas, relocating of certain military positions, presently in eyeball to eyeball confrontation, establishment of communication between local commanders were some other subjects discussed.

The above measures if implemented properly would release a large number of our troops for other more important duties and meaningful training. These measures, besides reducing unnecessary tensions will also result in considerable saving in manpower, material and wasteful expenditure.

The problems of border defence should be considered in the light of our strategic requirements. It should not be equated with machine gun posts or platoon level bunkers strung along our borders. Some of our senior commanders still perceive border defence as a series of defensive posts all along our borders, and therefore they cannot see the wood for the trees. Delineation of the border complex has major political implications which have to be seen in a broader context and not merely as a military tactical or operational problem.

During the meeting of the JWG in October 1992, the Chinese have reported to have assured India that they would not support any 'negative activities' from Pakistan against India and that their military assistance to Pakistan is limited in scope. They also sought to remove India's misgivings about the presence of Chinese troops along the Myanmar (Burma) borders.

The Chinese want a border solution based on "mutual adjustment, mutual understanding and mutual accomodation. "This in plainer language would perhaps mean a solution of the border problem which will suit both the countries. Concrete proposals in this regard when received by India should be considered with an open mind. Of course the 'small print' must not be missed out and the long term strategic interests of the country should not be sacrificed.

Iran

U.S. Urged To End 'Hostile Policy'

LD0303144393 Tehran IRNA in English 1317 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Tehran, March 3, IRNA—Iran will consider resumption of ties with the U.S. only when Washington stops provocations against Tehran and introduces a radical change in its attitude towards the Islamic Republic, a senior official said. Presidential Advisor for International Affairs 'Ali Reza Mo'ayyeri in an interview with the morning daily 'HAMSHAHRI' published Wednesday [3 March], said that both Republicans and Democrats have harmed the Islamic Republic and that no change has been noticed in the hostile attitude of neither [as received] Democrats nor Republicans.

However, Mo'ayyeri added, "it is too early to pass a judgement on Bill Clinton's policy towards Iran. But Tehran's policy is very clear. We have repeatedly announced that the U.S. must abandon its hostile policy on Iran." Since the very beginning of the Islamic revolution the U.S. moves have been oriented towards blockading the Islamic Republic in political, military and economic scenes. Washington has concentrated its efforts on confining the Islamic revolution to its geographical boundaries. However, he underlined, the message and ideas of the Islamic revolution have been exported and the Islamic uprisings in Africa and Palestine support this fact.

On relations with the Persian Gulf littoral states, the presidential advisor noted that Iran since the victory of the 1979 revolution has conveyed her friendly and sincere messages to all the world countries, the Persian Gulf littoral states in particular, and has stretched [out] arms for cooperation. He regretted that the Persian Gulf states have not adopted a similar friendly stand towards Iran and that they have concluded separate military pacts with foreign powers and embarked on excessive military purchases. Iran has always announced readiness to cooperate with the Persian Gulf states and to preserve security in the region in cooperation with her neighbors, Mo'ayyeri underlined.

"We have no need for the presence of alien forces in the region. We have always told them that they have chosen a wrong path and that their fear from the Islamic Republic is unrealistic..., I repeat that we have no problem with our neighbors and wish to live with them in a peaceful atmosphere."

He reiterated that the ethnic, historical, religious and cultural links between Iran and the Arab countries provide the best framework for establishment of a solid and strong tie. The Arabs should know that the foreign powers arriving in the region cannot solve the problems of the region, he continued.

Asked what practical solutions he suggests for ending the existing fear of the southern neighbors, Mo'ayyeri said that Iran employs all its efforts to make them recogize the realities. But, he added, the west and the major arms suppliers exert their utmost efforts, through extensive propaganda, to create an imaginary fear from Iran. He said that the stockpiling of weapons in the Persian Gulf countries is the main problem of the region adding "I believe this is an organized and pre-planned program of the west, the U.S. in particular, to create such a fear among Arabs with the aim to both conclude bilateral pacts with these countries and to exchange natural resources of these countries with weapons."

He also categorically denied western propaganda that iran is busy beefing up its defence power. Iran's military expense in proportion to its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is 1.5 percent which is trivial compared to those of Iraq and Saudi Arabia which are 21 and 18.5 percents respectively.

On Iran's policy towards Iraq, the presidential advisor said that Tehran is totally against disintegration of Iraq and is for integrity of the neighboring country. "We regret that Saddam (Husayn) and the Ba'th Party, by their wrong functioning, provided the necessary pretext for the presence of the alien forces in the region and brought much suffering to the Iraqi Muslim people."

Commenting on Iran's relations with the west and the Salman Rushdie issue, Mo'ayyeri said that the question of the apostate Rushdie is independent of other issues. The death edict on the apostate author of 'THE SATANIC VERSES' is irrevocable and nobody can change it, he reiterated and called on the western countries to acknowledge the fatwa and avoid linking the fate of Rushdie with that of their economic, political and cultural ties with Iran.

"Iran, in general has good relations with Europe. Iran aims at cooperating with the west collectively and there is no hindrance for expansion of cooperations. We are interested in cooperation with Europe as a body within the framework of the European Community, the united Europe and in form of bilateral relations." He referred to the recent message by President Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani to heads of European states in which he defined the policies of the Islamic Republic in general including the Rushdie issue. "In fact the message was a new basis to define a consolidated and stable tie with Europe."

Commenting on the stand adopted by Director General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Federico Mayor against Iran on [the] Rushdie issue, he regretted that a cultural organization has become engaged in political games and adopted a political decision under the pressures of powerful countries. "Mr. Mayor has entered the game for reasons of political pressures which is not to his expedient." [as received]

He blamed the U.S.-engineered new world order for creating new problems in the world and for providing grounds for further exploitation of countries.

On Iran's attitude towards the new world order, he underlined independence of Iran adding that one of the great achievements of the revolution was that the country's policies are formulated by the Iranian nation and authorities and not in Washington, London, Paris or Moscow. "We will not fall into the framework of a new order which obliges us to accept many things which are contrary to the Islamic principles and our national interests."

On resumption of ties with Egypt, he said "Egypt is a very important country for Iran and the Islamic world ... We cannot ignore a forefront country in the Arab and Islamic world. But our main problem is that Egypt is pioneer in Camp David accord." Moreover, he added, "we see the hands of Egypt involved in certain provocations in the region, including the issue of the Iranian islands of Abu Musa and the Greater and Lesser Tunbs." Naturally if we want to establish relations with a country, they must be based on certain principles. We think that the proper time for establishment of ties with Egypt has not come yet. But we hope that the Egyptian statesmen would review their stands so as we become able to resume our ties."

As for relations with Turkey, he said that Tehran is never interested in disturbing its ties with Turkey and that at a time when the world is heading towards establishment of regional pacts, it is necessary that Iran, Turkey, Pakistan and other neighbors further cooperate with each other, at least within the framework of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO). He also denied that Tehran and Ankara are trying to set up rival organizations of the Caspian Sea littoral states and the Black Sea littoral states respectively. If there is any competition at all, he said, it is aimed at promoting the quality of the goods produced in these countries.

On relations of Turkey and Iran with the newly-independent Central Asian republics, Mo'ayyeri said that after the collapse of the Soviet Union many governments took power in these countries and collapsed sooner or later. But what remained unchanged, he added, was their relations with the Islamic Republic. "All the new states need to have relations with Iran," he believed and went on to say that they need both cultural and material assistance. Noting that Iran can have a massive presence in these republics, the presidential advisor told HAMSHAHRI in conclusion that Turkey cannot be very active in Central Asia because it lacks any border connection with those countries except for the short border with Nakhichevan.

Daily Decries Western 'Propaganda'

LD0403090093 Tehran IRNA in English 0808 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Tehran, March 4, IRNA—An Iranian daily Thursday commented on the goals of Western mass media propaganda against Iran and asked how long would adventurism against Iran continue.

The editorial in 'TEHRAN TIMES' was commenting on an allegation by the French daily 'FRANCE-SOIR' introducing Iran as the prime suspect for involvement in the blast in New York's World Trade Centre on February 26 which left five people dead and tens of others wounded.

The daily wondered how the French daily made such a claim when none of the high-ranking U.S. security officials following up the issue had made such a claim and what the goal was.

It said that the Zionist-owned Western mass media had tried to depict Iran as a violent and terrorist country during the past 14 years to stir the Western public opinion against Iran.

Some Western wings which favour continued hostility against Iran are worried that the promises given by the Clinton administration "would demand a basic change in the U.S. system including the foreign policy," it said.

The daily mentioned Zionists and Iranian counterrevolutionary groups especially the outlawed Mujahideen Khalq Organisation (MKO) as the major components of the wing.

It said that these groups have paved the ground for their goals by lobbying among the top-ranking U.S. officials, "especially by establishing influence over the members of the U.S. Congress and Senate and the foreign policymakers."

The Zionists have also used the mass media to depict Iran as a terrorist country for the Western masses as a result of which the latter would pressure the policymakers to show hostility against Iran. The article in the FRANCE-SOIR daily should be considered in this light, the editorial said.

"To what extent is President Clinton aware and informed of these facts and to what extent does he have the courage to shatter and do away with such a situation and milieu?" the daily asked in conclusion.

Further on Slovene Delegation Visit, Issues

Support for Bosnian Muslims

LD0303194093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1715 GMT 3 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Cairo, March 3 (TANJUG)—Slovenia will by mid-June this year open its embassy in Tehran, Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle said at the close of a two-day visit to Iran.

Slovenia, a former Yugoslav republic, and Iran signed a protocol on diplomatic cooperation and a letter of understanding on bilateral economic relations. Under the reached agreement, Slovenia will, among other things, import half a million tonnes of Iranian oil. Nothing has been said, however, within which period are the oil deliveries to be made.

Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati said the talks with Peterle covered the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Balkans in general. "Our views are identical" and both countries' support the struggle of Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina," Velayati said.

Lifting of Bosnia Arms Embargo Advocated

LD0303183393 Tehran IRIB Television First Program Network in Persian 1530 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Our country's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has released a statement concerning crimes committed by the Serbs against the Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The statement says: The continued cruel slaughter of the defenseless people of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina by Serb militarists—especially at a time when the second round of talks between the warring parties is going on through mediation by the world community—is an indication of the lack of respect by Serb war criminals for the will of the world community, international law, and human dignity and conscience.

Under conditions in which the horrific crimes of the Serb militarists have assumed ever more dangerous dimensions, endangering the most natural right—the right to live—of a defenseless nation, a decisive and speedy decision by the United Nations to put an early end to the massacre is more necessary than ever before.

Believing that continuation of any kind of negligence, waste of time and indecision would be tantamount to realization of the wicked designs of the Serb militarists, the Islamic Republic of Iran, in continuation of its humanitarian and ideological requests, calls on the world community of nations to lift the arms embargo so as to restore to the victimized and besieged Bosnian nation their usurped right of legitimate self-defense.

Official Estimates Damage in Recent Floods

LD2802145193 Tehran IRNA in English 1432 GMT 28 Feb 93

[Text] Tehran, Feb. 28, IRNA—Floods which recently hit 12 provinces in Iran have left 183 people dead and 224 others missing with losses on infrastructural installations, roads, farmlands, dams and livestock estmiated at rls. [rials] 470 billion, according to an official.

"More than 120,000 families in rural and urban areas were hit by the flood of whom 8,000 families have been given accommodation in 53 makeshift camps," Rasoul Zargar, deputy interior minister and head of the natural disasters headquarters told reporters here Sunday [28 February].

Losses inflicted on 12,500 kms of main and side roads and 1,050 bridges destroyed by floods are estimated at rls. 90 billion, Zrgar said.

In agricultural sector, the official said, 250,000 hectares of farmlands, orchards, and crops sustained a total loss of rls. 76 billion.

He pointed out that 6,500 homes, 392 infrastructural projects in educational and governmental sectors, 1,600 subterranian canals, 1,100 kms of dikes and mud dams, 300 wells, 40 kms of high voltage cables and scores of low voltage networks were either destroyed or damaged.

The deputy interior minister put the extent of damage to the aforementioned sectors at rls. 130 billion, and to the Jiroft and Maroon dams at rls. 18.3 billion combined.

Some 220,000 heads of livestock worth rls. 10 billion perished in floods, he said, adding that the southern province of Hormuzgan was the worst hit.

Zargar said that material assistances worth rls. seven billion donated by the Iranian people have so far been dispatched to the flood-stricken regions.

Various U.N. agencies have given Iran's Red Crescent Society dlrs. 235,000 to meet the basic needs of the flood-hit people, the deputy interior minister said.

UK Government Donates Aid

LD0303150493 Tehran IRNA in English 1058 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Tehran, March 3, IRNA—Britain has donated dlrs. [dollars] 400,000 for those affected in the recent floods in Southern Iran, it was announced here Wednesday [3 March].

A press release by the British Embassy here said that the British Government had responded rapidly to a request made to the international community by the government and the Red Crescent Society of Iran.

Iran's call had been made for aid to help those left homeless by the recent flooding in Southern Iran.

"The British Government has committed U.S. dlrs. 400,000 to buy essential items identified by the Red Crescent. The first shipment of tents and blankets is due to arrive in Tehran by chartered aircraft on 3 March 1993," the press released noted.

Iran Ready To Join in UN Peacekeeping Missions

LD0303182493 Tehran IRIB Television Second Program Network in English 1410 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] According to IRNA, Iran's permanent envoy to the UN, Kamal Kharazi, yesterday voiced Iran's readiness to participate in UN peacekeeping missions all over the world.

Kharazi made the remarks in a meeting with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali in which the two sides discussed Iran's stand on UN peacekeeping missions. Butrus-Ghali welcomed Iran's proposal and said he would look into the issue.

Kharazi also announced Iran's readiness to help solve Afghanistan's crisis through peaceful means. Turning to Iran's humanitarian policies, Kharazi said that the country had hosted over 2.5 million Afghan refugees in the past 14 years and would welcome UN assistance for the voluntary return of the refugees to their home country. The UN chief lauded Iran's principled and humanitarian stand in helping Afghan refugees and described as important its role in solving Afghanistan's problems.

Kharazi also reported on the damage sustained as the result of recent floods in 11 provinces in Iran and listed items immediately needed by the victims.

Butrus-Ghali promised to commission specialized UN organizations and agencies for active relief operations.

Opposition to Muslims in Central Asia Called 'Futile'

LD2702200693 Tehran IRNA in English 1814 GMT 27 Feb 93

[Text] Tehran, Feb. 27, IRNA—Authorities in Central Asia should know that the wisest thing for them to do is to stop their futile opposition to the Muslims in Tajikistan, and instead serve the aspirations of their own people rather than serving Russian objectives, advised the Persian daily JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI today.

In its editorial on the current developments in Tajikistan and declaration of popular Islamic rule in the eastern and southern parts of that country, JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI regretted the world indifference towards the massacre of innocent Tajik Muslims by foreign elements.

It said war was imposed on the Tajiks following the upsurge of Islamic and freedom-seeking movements in that country, which were "panicking those in authority in the neighboring republics including the Russians and the communist remnants of the former Soviet Union."

"Moscow and its sympathizers made a grave miscalculation in Central Asia by thinking that oppression of a Muslim nation which rediscovered its Islamic identity after 70 years of slavery would solve the problem", said the paper.

The fact is, it added, Islam is the first and the unalterable demand of the peoples of the Central Asian republics who are determined to acheive it, and that the resistance of the authorities against the will of their peoples was nothing but a "political stupidity."

The daily criticized the Russians for keeping the Tajik and other nations under their yoke of tyranny for 70 years, and said instead of apologizing to those people, the former colonialists are ordering their aggressor soldiers to murder them cruelly by the most modern weapons which ironically have been paid for by the resources of the very same people.

Such "Stalinistic" approaches would definitely rouse the anger of the Muslim people in these republics making them more determined to wreak vengeance upon the Russian aggressors, said the paper.

It added the declaration of Islamic government in parts of Tajikistan by a people who have been severely oppressed by Russian mercenaries was a good evidence of this idea.

The Russians should know that "the KGB era is long past" and that they cannot oppress the free Muslims as they did before, said the daily.

In conclusion JOMHURI-YE Eslami advised authorities in the Central Asian republics to "help your own people to materialize their aspirations and rest assured that serving your nations to achieve their goals would be better for you than serving Russian interests."

Role of 'Independence,' Popular Support Viewed

NC2802111593 Tehran HAMSHAHRI in Persian 6 Feb 93 pp 1-2

[Editorial: "Revolution and Independence"]

[Excerpts] It goes without saying that the slogan of "independence" has been one of the major pillars of Iran's Islamic movement and revolution. [passage omitted]

With the revolution's anniversary, it is vital to propound how to preserve the independence that has been safeguarded by the people's rare support for the Islamic Republic. Here we refer to the various aspects of independence, particularly its political aspects, because after the world's entry into an era of advanced technology and the emergence of decentralized economy and industry, where one thing depends on another, there have been astonishing changes—especially since the 1980's—as far as economic independence is concerned. Currently, no country—not even the G-7 industrial countries—can consider itself independent.

The path the Islamic Republic pursued during the past 14 years to safeguard its political independence was based on the people's rare confidence in political rule and the masses' huge presence on various social scenes. [passage omitted]

Looking at popular gatherings in the country and considering the great population growth, the reality that emerges is that the people's participation in fateful political scenes has declined. We should not forget that there may be improvised restrictions and approaches that aim to attract certain social elements to support the ruling system. And the unavoidable consequences of this method are the gradual distancing of the people from the political system and the strengthening of security and military institutions to make up for "the lack of backbone"; the weakening of the government's position on international scenes in its pessimistic sense [as published]; efforts to gain foreign powers' consent by accepting their imposed conditions; and, finally, trusting and relying on outside forces.

The other path that has apparently avoided the eyes of the system, but that plays a determining role in consolidating the roots of political independence, is that of attracting the people's participation in their civil and political rights and in consolidating this participation by granting opportunities to political and social forces to safeguard national interests and expand their activities within the framework of law. When the people's participation through legitimate political institutions is achieved, all social demands will be uttered within the framework of the government's supervision and strength. When these institutions feel they are participating in the construction and development of the country and in regulating and organizing power and exercising it, foreign forces will find it difficult to oppose this political system and achieve their illegitimate objectives by counting on this society's overt and covert political potential.

It may be claimed that there is an overt contradiction between the meaning of political independence and of "Islam," but it should be said that this very point requires study and assessment. Despite the verbal debates, we should point out that if this contradiction does exist, how was the composition of "Islam" and of the "Republic" achieved? Also, what will those who claim the contradiction does exist do with the clear text of the Constitution that is the outcome of the blood shed by the revolution martyrs?

When the world is rapidly moving toward systems that rely on people's increasing participation in the political fate of countries, does insistence on moving away from this befit our revolution and its political independence?

Within this framework, we should not ignore the cultural element and that its strength relies on the national and religious heritage and identity of the people in consolidating the bases of the country's political independence.

HAMSHAHRI Articles on Revolution Criticized

NC2802115593 Tehran RESALAT in Persian
16 Feb 93 pp 3, 6

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] During the Ten Days of Dawn celebrations, the colorful newspaper HAMSHAHRI carried a series of articles on topics such as "The Revolution and Religious Thought," "The Revolution and Freedom," "The Revolution and Independence," "The Revolution and Culture," and "The Revolution and Foreign Policy." It is not clear if the opinions stated in these articles were those of the Tehran mayor [the proprietor of HAMSHAHRI] or of a specific political group that hides its positions behind the mask of the most expensive newspaper in the country today! [passage omitted]

On the people and their political participation, HAMSHAHRI writes:

"Glancing at popular gatherings in the country and considering the great population growth, the reality that emerges is that the people's participation in fateful political scenes has declined."

Could there be a greater insult against the people in broad daylight? Unfortunately, the author of this article did not deem it necessary to explain his implications. Was the people's participation in the 22 Bahman [11 February] marches [marking the anniversary of the Islamic revolution] and their participation in the election for the fourth Majles term not proof of the emptiness of such allegations? Alleging that some consider "political independence" and "Islam" to be contradictory, the author attacks those who believe this contradiction exists and writes:

"When the world is rapidly moving toward systems that rely on people's increasing participation in the political fate of countries, does insistence on moving away from this befit our revolution and its political independence?"

But the author does not say who makes such allegations or who says such contradictions exist! [passage omitted]

During the ceremonies to mark the victory of the Islamic revolution, HAMSHAHRI places religious thoughts, freedom, the people's political participation, and confrontation of the West's cultural onslaught into question in a complicated manner. Can you claim that HAMSHAHRI's stances conform with the views of our dear fellow citizens throughout the country?

* Ankara Cuts Export Guarantees to Iran

93P50077A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
25 Feb 93 p 1

[Text] Ankara, Tehran, London—Turkey has joined 12 other nations in suspending guarantees for exports to Iran, according to what a spokesman for the Turkish Economy Ministry said yesterday.

The Eximbank, which is owned by the Turkish Government, has usually issued these guarantees, which last year covered $400 million worth of Turkish exports to Iran. The decision to withdraw the guarantees immediately was sudden and rapid.

The Iranian information media launched a campaign against what it described as "elements within the Turkish Government," postulating that they have formulated "a deliberate plan with the goal of destroying the relationship between the two neighboring countries and nudging them toward a military confrontation."

Earlier this week, Iranian Revolutionary Guard Commander Mohsen Reza'i bolstered this trend when he charged the United States with "trying to force Iran into a war with its neighbors."

Reza'i said that he had received "extremely sensitive information" that the CIA is trying to "arrange conditions that will lead to the outbreak of a military conflict between Iran and a number of its neighboring nations."

In Ankara, official sources indicated that the decision to withdraw the guarantees for notes of credit issued by Iranian banks was made for "economic reasons alone."

A Turkish source said: "Iran simply does not have the money. The Iranian Government is carrying debts of over $30 billion dollars, most of it in short-term loans that are difficult to reservice. Iran imported more than $1.3 billion a year of products from Turkey in the 1980's, while the value of Iranian imports last year did not exceed $400 million due to a lack of capital."

The Turkish source noted the fact that the rest of [Iran's] major trading partners, such as Japan, the United States, Britain, and Germany, have also withdrawn export credit guarantees from Iranian banks for the same reason. However, Iran is charging Turkey with the responsibility of recently decreasing its imports of Iranian oil to a quarter of what they were 10 years ago.

* Reply to Turkey's 'Hostile Policy' Threatened

93P50077B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
26 Feb 93 pp 1, 4

[Text] Ankara, Tehran—Additional strain was put on Iranian-Turkish ties yesterday when the Iranian information media launched attacks on what they described as "Turkish international agents of arrogance."

The Iranian media attacks on Turkey came after Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati warned that Iran will take revenge on "a clearly hostile policy" pursued by Ankara toward Tehran. Velayati said: "We will not stand idle. There are plans to destroy our relationship with Turkey and to push us into a confrontation. We are ready for any possibility."

Shortly before Velayati's statement in Tehran, the Eximbank imposed special measures on its commercial dealings with Iran. Bank spokesman Ahmet Ertugrul said that the bank, which is owned by the Turkish Govement, had warned Turkish businessmen of the dangers of commercial dealings with Iran. He added: "We had requested that businessmen not deal commercially with Iranian companies even before we recently paid in full for the commercial transactions that had already been concluded."

At the same time, a team of Turkish security officials returned to Turkey from Tehran after the Iranian regime refused to permit it to investigate a number of Iranian military bases. Ankara said that terrorists who received training at the Iranian bases were responsible for killing no less than 14 politicial figures within Turkish territory since 1989. However, Velayati announced that Iran has severed its relations with all of the organizations that call for violence, among them the Kurdish Workers' Party [PKK], which has fought a war against Ankara since 1988.

The limitations that the Turkish Government has imposed on commercial dealings wtih Iran recently may lead to a shortage of important products on the Iranian market, such as pharmaceutical preparations. Turkey is one of the main routes for Iranian trade. One-third of Iran's imports from Europe and the United States come via this route. Tehran considers the Turkish trade measures to be an attempt by Ankara to force Iran to stop supporting the Turkish "hizballah" and the PKK. SOUTH ASIA

Pakistan

Further Reportage on Islamabad Afghan Peace Talks

Rabbani Meets Leaders

LD0303173693 Kabul Radio Afghanistan Network in Pashto 1530 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Esteemed Professor Borhanoddin Rabbani, president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan [ISA], met today Mr. Mohammad Nawaz Sharif, prime minister of Pakistan, and held talks with him. During the talks, which were also attended by Engineer Golboddin Hekmatyar, discussions were held on the topics of previous talks on cessation of fighting in Kabul. The talks, which took place in the prime minister's residence, lasted three hours.

The BAKHTAR correspondent in Islamabad writes that both sides hope for success in the talks. It is hoped that many issues will be resolved in the next stage of the discussions.

The correspondent adds that esteemed Professor Borhannoddin Rabbani met this morning Alaeddin Borujerdi, deputy foreign minister of Iran, and held talks with him on issues of interest.

According to another report the esteemed ISA president met yesterday evening with Pakistan President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in Iwan- e Sadr. During the one-hour meeting, talks were held on issues of interest.

According to the BAKHTAR correspondent, esteemed Professor Borhanoddin Rabbani and his accompanying delegation yesterday evening participated in an Iftar function hosted by Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan. A number of jihadi leaders of Afghanistan also attended the function.

According to another report, esteemed Professor Borhanoddin Rabbani yesterday met the U.S. ambassador in Islamabad.

'No Concrete Advance'

BK0403092893 Hong Kong AFP in English 0912 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Islamabad, March 4 (AFP)—An Afghan peace plan was blocked Thursday after several groups rejected extending President Borhanoddin Rabbani's term of office, despite agreement in principle by the main rivals, Afghan sources said.

The draft, discussed by Rabbani and his main rival Golboddin Hekmatyar, is subject to approval by other opposition groups, but there was a total "lack of unanimity," Afghan sources said.

"No concrete advance has been made on major points" in the set of proposals presented by peace-broker Pakistan, Hekmatyar's close aide Nawab Saleem told AFP.

The Pakistan Foreign Office confirmed there was no agreement.

Rabbani and Hekmatyar have agreed in principle on power sharing. Under the formula Rabbani would remain President for up to 18 months and Hekmatyar, or his Hezb-e Eslami party nominee, would become prime minister.

Under this interim government a constituent assembly would be elected to draft a constitution for post-communist Afghanistan.

But other opposition groups, backing Hekmatyar, oppose Rabbani's extension beyond four months, Saleem said.

He said a revised draft was being discussed with "like minded" parties including groups led by former president Sebghatollah Mojaddedi, moderate leaders Seyyed Ahmad Gilani and Nabi Mohammadi and the pro-Iran Hezb-e Wahdat.

A breakthrough was achieved on the third day of the intra-Afghan dialogue Wednesday when Hekmatyar and Rabbani, fierce rivals, held talks.

Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, succeeded in pursuading them to sit down with him in what his foreign secretary Shaharyar Mohammad Khan termed a significant development in Islamabad's efforts to end months of bloodletting in Afghanistan.

Powerful North Afghan warlord of the Uzbek militia, chief Abdol Rashid Dostam, who is demanding a share in the power has sent a representative to the Isamabad talks, but Yunes Khales of Hezb's splinter group has boycotted.

Apparently to accommodate major opposition [word indistinct] which claim that Rabbani's Jamiat party has virtually monopolised power by amassing important government posts, the draft provides that no party should hold more than one of the major cabinet portfolio. These key posts were listed as: President, Prime Minister, foreign affairs, defence, interior and national security.

Sources said some Jamiat members were concerned at Rabbani's agreement to surrender top ministries, and expected defence minister Ahmed Shah Mas'ud to be the first casualty.

Cautiously optimistic Pakistani officials say the talks are at a "delicate stage." The rival sides are trying to "bridge the gap" after narrowing their differences, a top Pakistani diplomat said.

Thousands of people have died in the fierce clashes between Rabbani's forces backed by Mas'ud, and Hekmatyar's guerrillas, entrenched South and East of Kabul.

The clashes turned into a triangular fight early this year when militants of the Shi'ite Hezb-e Wahdat faction, holding a sizeable area of Kabul, joined Hekmatyar's attempt to oust Rabbani.

The Shi'ite dominated Wahdat draws moral support from Iran.

Both Iran and Saudi Arabia, vying for greater influence in Kabul, have sent important emissaries to assist in the parleys. With Pakistan, the two nations have played a key role in the 14-year Afghan jihad (holy war), firstly in ending the 10-year Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1989 and then by overthrowing the Moscow backed regime of President Najibollah in April last year.

'Most' Agree on Power-Sharing

BK0403122693 Hong Kong AFP in English 1207 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Islamabad, March 4 (AFP)—Most Afghan leaders agreed Thursday to allow President Borhanoddin Rabbani to retain office for 18 months and induct his bitter rival Golboddin Hekmatyar as prime minister, Pakistani Premier Nawaz Sharif said.

However details of the power-sharing were yet to be finalised, Sharif told reporters after chairing a meeting of the rival leaders on the fourth day of talks aimed at ending bloodshed in Afghanistan.

"A majority has agreed to accept Rabbani for 18 months. There is also consensus on Hekmatyar becoming prime minister, barring one or two parties," Sharif said, without naming the dissenting groups.

If these groups continued to oppose the plan "we will have to go by the majority view," he added.

Afghan sources earlier said several factions opposed Rabbani's continued presidency, granted for a two-year term by a controversial assembly in December.

Nawab Saleem, a close aide of Hekmatyar whose role is seen as crucial to the success of the parleys, told AFP "we will also reject" the peace proposals, co-sponsored by Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, if other opposition groups turned them down.

Sharif's press secretary Javed Akhtar said the prime minister convened the meeting in his office around noon after Afghan leaders' bilateral and collective negotiations became bogged down earlier in the day.

"If we were close yesterday, we are closer to a peace agreement today," Sharif said.

The party leaders were meeting to decide how to distribute cabinet posts among the various parties in a new Islamic government, he added.

Rabbani, Hekmatyar Meet

LD0403122393 (Clandestine) Radio Message of Freedom in Pashto to Afghanistan 0830 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Continuing the mojahedin leaders' meeting in Islamabad, Ostad [teacher] Rabbani, leader of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan [Jamiat-e Eslami], met with mojahed brother Hekmatyar, leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan [Hezb-e Eslami-e Afghanistan].

The Afghan news agency reports from the Pakistani capital, Islamabad, that talks between the jihadi leaders continued yesterday. During these meetings, Ostad Rabbani, leader of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan, met with mojahed brother Hekmatyar, leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan at the Pakistani prime minister's residence. The first round of talks between Hekmatyar and Rabbani concentrated on the form of an interim government and the establishment of a stable and lasting peace in the country.

The talks are scheduled to continue today.

Saudi Envoy Meets Leaders

LD0403123193 Riyadh Saudi Arabian Television Network in Arabic 2000 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Excerpt] His Royal Highness Prince Turki Al-Faysal, special envoy of the custodian of the two holy mosques, King Fahd Bin-'Abd- Al-'Aziz, arrived the day before yesterday in Islamabad. A communique issued by the kingdom's embassy in Pakistan states that his royal highness will hold important consultations with the

Pakistani leaders, foremost among them His Excellency President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and His Excellency Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, and with the Afghan leaders who had accepted the invitation of the custodian of the two holy mosques to hold negotiations in the Kingdom in order to reach a solution to their disagreements and to achieve the peace and security required in their war-torn country. [passage omitted]

The embassy communique states that the Kingdom and Pakistan are currently working together to help the Afghans determine their fate. [passage omitted]

Prince Turki Al-Faysal yesterday met in Islamabad with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan of Pakistan within the framework of efforts already underway to settle the crisis in Afghanistan. His highness also met Pakistani Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. Official Pakistani sources said that President Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Nuwaz Sharif briefed Prince Turki Al-Faysal on the Pakistani stance on the current Afghan political crisis. His highness yesterday also participated in a meeting between Afghan President Burhanoddin Rabbani and the Pakistani prime minister. [passage omitted]

The special envoy of the custodian of the two holy mosques last night also met Afghan President Burhanoddin Rabbani and later with the leaders of the Afghan mojahedin and discussed with them a working paper drafted according to the consultations they themselves had held. During the meeting, they surveyed all points of view concerning the working paper, which seeks to lay down the foundations, regulations and rules for the restoration of peace and stability in Afghanistan.

Tehran Reports Details of Afghan Talks

NC0403071193 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0430 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Following violent clashes among various groups in Afghanistan in the past two months, which have led to the killing or wounding of hundreds of people in Kabul and in other parts of Afghanistan, new efforts are under way to end the war and establish tranquility in this war-stricken country. Peace talks started on Monday [1 March] with the arrival of Afghan President Borhanoddin Rabbani in Islamabad. The talks were held in the presence of Pakistani officials, a special delegation from the Islamic Republic of Iran, and a Saudi representative. The Islamic Republic's delegation to these talks is headed by Ala'eddin Borujerdi, deputy foreign minister for Asia and Oceania.

The six groups opposing Rabbani that are participating in the talks met in Islamabad on Tuesday to study their positions. Among the important developments in the talks was yesterday's meeting between Rabbani and Golboddin Hekmatyar, the major opponent to Rabbani's rule. The meeting, held in the presence of Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, has been described in Islamabad as positive.

Our colleague Khameneh, who is in Islamabad, reports in more detail on the Islamabad talks:

[Khameneh] Greetings, dear listeners of the morning newscast. Two plans have been discussed at the Islamabad talks so far. The first plan, on which almost all the mojahedin groups opposing Rabbani's government agreed, is no longer an issue and will not be studied. On the basis of the second plan, which was studied during the direct talks yesterday between Hekmatyar and Rabbani and which may also lead to the signing of a peace agreement, Hekmatyar will not oppose Rabbani's presidency. In addition, Rabbani can retain this position for 18 months, about two months of which have already expired. In return, Rabbani has agreed to transfer some of his authority, namely, that the future president of Afghanistan will be selected from Hekmatyar's Hezb-e Eslami.

It has also been said that Afghanistan's future government will be presented by the prime minister after consultations with the president. Parliamentary elections will reportedly be held within the next six months and the government, not the parties, will form an election committee.

This plan was discussed yesterday during the joint meeting of the heads of the five groups that oppose the Rabbani government—namely Sebghatollah Mojaddedi, Pir Seyyed Ahmad Gilani, Mowlavi Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi, Ayatollah 'Asef Mohseni, and Karim Khalili—and the Pakistani prime minister. One of Rabbani's spokesman said that this plan includes positive and encouraging points. A Hezb-e Eslami spokesman has said that Hekmatyar has not decisively responded to the plan but that facts show that he may be ready to accept a modified version of the plan.

The Hezb-e Vahdat-e Eslami does not believe this plan is fully comprehensive because of the unclear status of the jihad forces. Mojaddedi has also voiced his opposition to an increase in Rabbani's presidency.

The Pakistani prime minister described the Rabbani-Hekmatyar meeting as useful. The Pakistani deputy foreign minister has described the results of the direct talks between the two leaders and of the talks among the five anti-Rabbani groups as encouraging. [Pakistani Foreign Secretary] Shahryar Khan has said that efforts to narrow the differences among the opposing sides will continue today in view of the progress achieved. He added that the final results of the talks will be clarified today.

If the leaders of the Afghan jihad forces who overthrew Najibollah's communist regime last year sign a peace pact, the first significant outcome will be the establishment of a permanent cease- fire in Afghanistan, which all groups stress. Nevertheless the situation of the National Movement of Northern Afghanistan, led by General Dostam, and the power and authority of the president and the prime minister and the management of the Defense Ministry are among the ambiguous points that are pending. Last night Khan said efforts will be made to clarify these points in today's talks.

Borujerdi Meets Pakistan President

LD0403114493 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] The current situation in Afghanistan and the results of recent talks between the country's jihadi leaders were discussed by Alaedin Borujerdi, Iranian deputy foreign minister in charge of Asian and Pacific affairs, and Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan this morning.

In the meeting, the Pakistani president thanked the Islamic Republic of Iran for sending a special group to discuss, and to cooperate in finding a solution to, the differences between the Afghan mojahedin, IRIB [Iranian radio] reported from Islamabad.

He said that during the Afghan war, Iran and Pakistan befriended the Afghan mojahedin and today they should continue their aid and discussions in order to find a suitable solution to the difficulties.

He said the creation of a special commission by Iran, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia could help find an Afghan solution.

He added: We have told the leaders of the Afghan mojahedin that the current wars are no longer jihad [holy war], and we believe that no Afghan group is able to rule the country on its own. All the groups which were involved in the jihad should have a suitable share in the government.

He said that if the war in Afghanistan continues, the country will be isolated in the world.

Mr. Borujerdi expressed the Iranian president's warmest greeting and his hopes that a speedy solution will be found to the current Afghan situation.

He said Iran hopes the two countries' efforts will end the current crisis in Afghanistan.

Indian Minister's Remarks on Talks 'Welcomed'

BK0403105193 Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST in English 4 Mar 93 p 1

[Text] Islamabad—The foreign office spokesman on Wednesday welcomed the statement of Indian external affairs minister in a newspaper in which he was quoted as saying that India has not put any pre-conditions on dialogue with Pakistan on all outstanding issues.

Commenting on a report published by The Khaleej Times in which Indian External Affairs Minister Dinesh Singh desired to visit Pakistan, spokesman said in his weekly briefing "we would welcome Indian foreign minister on his visit to Pakistan". He said "we are glad to know that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's call for a dialogue was positively responded by the India.

"Dinesh Singh's statement appears to be a positive response from India", he maintained.

"We are glad that India has not put any pre-conditions and is willing for talks on all outstanding issues", he added.

The spokesman however stressed that India should also talk with Pakistan on the core issue of Kashmir. "It appears that India remains unprepared for a dialogue with Pakistan on the care issue of Kashmir".

Asked to comment on a report appeared in American media suggesting that "drug money has become lifeblood of Pakistan's politics and economy", the spokesman said that U.S. authorities have categorically said that "this report does not reflect U.S. official views about Pakistan.

"We have been assured by the U.S. Administration that the story has not come from any official source. Rather the report was released by circles inimical to Pakistan. Such studies often sponsored by interested quarters", U.S. official sources told Pakistan.

It may be mentioned here that the name of a brother-in-law of prime minister was also included in the list of alleged drug- smugglers.

France Offers Islamabad Used Mirage Jets

BK0403103793 Islamabad THE NEWS in English 4 Mar 93 p 12

[Text] Karachi—France has offered to sell at least 20 second-hand Mirage 2000Cs to the Pakistan Air Force [PAF]. These aircraft will be taken out of the French service, and in its place the latest Mirage 2000-bs will be inducted.

Earlier in January 1992, Pakistan had signed a provisional agreement for the purchase of Mirage 2000Es (Export version). These aircraft were to be partly paid through a credit fund which France had agreed to set up in order to compensate Pakistan for the cancellation of the nuclear eurichment plant deal. The amount allocated for the Mirage 2000s was reportedly more than US$100 million.

The French Air Force [IAF] announced its plans to buy 37 Mirage 2000-5s by 1997 in August last year. The order was seen as a move to boost the flagging sales of the Mirage 2000.

It also gave domestic credibility to Dassault which had not been able to get a launch-customer of the Mirage 2000-5. Soon after the French order, Taiwan signed a deal to purchase 60 Mirage 2000-5s, with an option on 40 more.

The sale offer of Mirage 2000Cs stems out of the French Air Force's desire to get rid of an older version of the

Mirage 2000, and at the same time get funds to purchase more the latest Mirage 2000-5s.

Presently, the French Air Force flies four versions of the Mirage 2000. The 2000C is the standard air defence version of the aircraft in the French inventory, while the 2000C is its two seat- operational trainer version. More than 150 Mirage 2000Cs and 23 2000Bs have been procured by the French Air Force while around 30 single seaters are on order.

The third of the principal Mirage 2000 variant in the French service is the two-seat 2000N, which has been designed to carry a single Aerospatiale ASMP nuclear stand-off missile with a range of 100 kilometres. The fourth and the last is the 3000N, an advanced version of the 2000N designed to carry conventional weapons.

The Mirage 3000Cs offered to Pakistan were inducted in the French Air Force from 1982 and onwards.

India has bought 49 Mirage 2000s. which have been fitted with Antelope 5 radars and twin inertial navigation systems (INS). This implies that the IAF Mirages have a primary attack role, confirmed by the Indian purchase of Durandal antirunway monitions. The Antelope 5 is installed in Mirage 2000N, and is used for low-level all-weather penetration.

On the other hand, the Mirage 2000Cs offered to the PAF have the RDI radar which can only be used for air defence roles.

One option for Pakistan is to purchase the second-hand French Mirage 2000Cs and then install the advanced avionics of the Mirage 2000-5, which will become available from this year. The [word indistinct] RDI radar of the Mirage 2000-5 features multifunction (air-to-air, air-to-ground and air-to-surface) and multitarget (track-while-scan) capabilities. Also, its new wide angle head-up display and multi-display cockpit reduces pilot workload in both air-to-air combat and air-to-ground missions.

U.S. Urged To Pressure India on Kashmir

BK0303133293 Rawalpindi JANG in Urdu 27 Feb 93 p 13

[Editorial: "The Kashmir Dispute and America"]

[Text] The U.S. ambassador to Pakistan has said that the Kashmir issue should be resolved in accordance with UN resolutions. He said that Kashmir is not an integral part of India. The United States has never accepted the Indian stand on Kashmir and always expressed the view at the diplomatic level that the Kashmir problem should be resolved according to the resolutions of the United Nations. However, in view of the recent allegations of terrorism and so-called fundamentalism, there was a growing speculation that America was probably giving weight to India's baseless allegation that Pakistan is engaged in armed intervention in Kashmir and that the U.S. stand on Kashmir was coming closer to that of India. But the statement of the U.S. ambassador has made it clear that the United States considers Kashmir a disputed territory and wants its solution to be arrived at in accordance with the UN resolutions. The Kashmir issue is the primary source of tension between Pakistan and India. No progress can be made in issues like the arms race, defense budgets, and the nuclear program in South Asia until the issue of Kashmiris' self-determination is resolved. But surprisingly, the United States is exerting all possible political, diplomatic and economic pressure on Pakistan due to the aforementioned reasons. It has not only unjustifiably suspended all economic and military aid in accordance with the Pressler Amendment, but it is forcing global financial institutions and friendly countries to make their aid to Pakistan conditional on Pakistan abandoning its peaceful nuclear program. However, the United States is not prepared to play an international role to eliminate the root causes of these problems. The U.S. role in this regard is totally unjust and contradicts its claims about global peace and stability. If the United States can resort to direct military intervention in other countries in order to implement the UN resolutions and play the role of a mediator in the negotiations between the Arabs and Israel in the Middle East, then why can't it force India to hold a purposeful dialogue with Pakistan under the UN resolutions and the Simla Agreement to resolve the Kashmir issue? Sooner or later, the United States will have to accept reality because the situation in Kashmir has now reached such a serious point that the United States and the world fraternity cannot ignore it any longer. When the United States acknowledges in principle that Kashmir is a disputed territory, then it should also use its influence on India and get the Kashmir issue resolved.

Official Denies U.S. Paper Allegations on Narcotics

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[Text] A foreign office spokesman in Islamabad today dismissed as baseless a U.S. newspaper report accusing Pakistan and its leaders of being involved in narcotics affairs. He said the U.S. Administration has assured the Government of Pakistan that the report is not in any way based on the information provided by the CIA or any other U.S. official sources nor does the U.S. Administration attach any importance to such reports. The report, published in the New York tabloid NEWSDAY, was derived from the paper submitted at a conference on the narcotics problem in South Asia held in Washington last year. Several such study papers are presented to Washington and they are used by interested quarters. The aforementioned paper was undoubtedly the handiwork of the anti-Pakistan circles, the spokesman added.

CIA Report Called 'Propaganda'

BK0303163493 Lahore PAKISTAN in Urdu 26 Feb 93 p 4

[Editorial: "U.S. CIA's Propaganda Against Pakistan"]

[text] The U.S. CIA has issued a report accusing the Pakistani civil and military organizations of being involved in the narcotics trade, saying that the drug smugglers have access to the highest political circles, including the Interservices Intelligence [ISI]. It has been stated that the report has been compiled with the cooperation of the Pakistani journalists who work for the CIA in Pakistan. The report states that the ISI uses the income earned from the heroin trade to provide financial assistance to separatist movements in India and to foment civil war in Afghanistan. James O'Grady, the acting chief of the U.S. antinarcotics department, has been quoted as saying that the Pakistani authorities have given express permission for the heroin trade. The report adds that heroin enjoys the same status in Pakistan's economy as blood in the human body. The illegal money earned from the narcotics trade has assumed a status similar to that of the legal economy. The report specifically mentions the name of Malik Mohammad Ayub Khan Afridi, who has been described as a very big heroin smuggler with access to all organizations of the leadership, including military intelligence.

A Pakistani Embassy spokesman has described the report as totally baseless and the allegations leveled in it as incorrect and concocted. The spokesman added that the scourge of heroin was in fact spread by the United States. The heroin smuggling was promoted during the Afghan people's war against the Soviet occupation of their country, but after the withdrawal of the Soviets from Afghanistan, the United States turned away and stopped economic and military aid to Pakistan.

Was the aforementioned CIA report, as published in the New York tabloid NEWSDAY, actually compiled by the CIA or is it the handiwork of the anti-Pakistan lobby? The truth must be ascertained. An explanation can be sought directly from the U.S. Government; and if the report was actually written by the CIA, then a protest should be lodged with the United States at the government level. The former Bush administration had officially recognized the fact that the Pakistani Government was making determined and sincere efforts to deal with the narcotics problem. The narcotics problem has caused major difficulties for Pakistan at both the national and international levels. There are 3 million drug addicts in Pakistan, which is causing serious difficulties for 3 million families. The scourge can spread further. The government, its organizations, and the officials are doing whatever they can to control this menace; but the time has come to take decisive steps in this regard. The smugglers must not be allowed to escape from the clutches of the law. The entire state machinery and power should be utilized to provide exemplary punishment to those who are suspected of earning income illegally from the heroin trade. They do not deserve any concession because they are becoming a source of humiliation for Pakistan. Efforts should also be made to counter the mischievous propaganda against Pakistan and all available resources should be put to use to achieve this objective. The overwhelming majority of the Pakistani population is righteous, God-fearing, peace-loving, and law-abiding. They earn their livelihood honestly and abstain from vices and evil deeds. Only a despicable minority obsessed with the lust for money is becoming a source of ignominy and disgrace for the nation. But, their wings are being gradually clipped. The government believes that these criminal elements need to be totally eliminated to protect the society from their evil deeds and harmful activities; and to achieve this objective, all available resources need to be utilized.

The license given by the United States to its agencies to carry out malicious propaganda against Pakistan, overlooking all norms and principles of friendship, is causing double sorrow to Pakistan. On the one hand, an old ally—which until yesterday used Pakistan whenever and wherever it wanted—has turned against it; and on the other, the world's only superpower is busy creating numerous difficulties for a small and developing country like Pakistan, forgetting its global responsibilities, even though extending cooperation to Pakistan in overcoming its problems and difficulties is the moral responsibility of the United States. Pakistan cannot think of impairing its relations with the United States. But for how long? It is obligatory on the part of the U.S. Administration and its agencies to form any opinion only on the basis of concrete facts and evidences. If they have any complaint against Pakistan, they should first seek the opinion of the Islamabad government and then reach any conclusion. In the meantime, they must put an end to the false, concocted, and mischievous propaganda against Pakistan, because these reports are not only contrary to the long-standing U.S.-Pakistan friendship but are also tantamount to the detestable act of defaming Pakistan.